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OR,

EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN THE SOMERS' ISLANDS.

(WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.)

BY

A FIELD OFFICER.

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Die Worte klüglich stellen, dass sie euch
Das Herz ergreifen, aber nicht verletzen!”

SCHILLER.

“..... Preventing care
In peace, provides fit arms against a war.”

POPE.

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P R E F A C E.

BERMUDA possesses a three-fold claim to the attention of Britons, — as a *colony*, a *fortress*, and a *prison*.

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Lastly, as a *prison*, Bermuda, as the re-

ceptacle of our worst convicts, must assuredly possess some degree of interest for every Briton who values the security of his life and property.

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The Engravings have been taken from Daguerreotypes executed, for the author, by Mr. Whittemore of the United States — a gentleman who is in the habit of paying long and frequent visits to Bermuda, in the prosecution of his business.

ERRATA.

- Page 27, line 22., for "two," read "three."
139, at note, for "nur ihn," read "um ihn."
155, line 1., for "permenent," read "permanent."
170, line 9., for "taking him," read "taking it."

B E R M U D A.

CHAPTER I.

SEA WEARINESS. — ARRIVAL OFF BERMUDA. — IN DANGER OF SHIPWRECK. — NECESSITY OF KNOWING ONE'S RIGHT HAND FROM ONE'S LEFT. — WHALES. — ENTERING ST. GEORGE'S HARBOUR. — MURRAY'S ANCHORAGE. — ST. GEORGE'S. — CASTLE HARROUR. — THE FIVE CONNECTED ISLANDS. — SOMERSET. — SEA AND LAND TRAVELLING. — HAMILTON. — THE NEW HOTEL. — THE FLEET. — JACK ASHORE. — ADMIRALTY HOUSE. — GOVERNMENT HOUSE. — PALMETTOS: WHY DEAR TO THE LADIES. — SCENERY. — BUILDINGS. — LIBRARY. — INTERNAL MAILS. — MR. FACY. — HORSES. — ROADS. — THE FIRST FOUR-IN-HAND.

WHO, that has been long at sea, has not more than realised the speech of the good old lord in *The Tempest*, — “Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground, long heath, brown furze — anything”?

But how speedily are such gloomy thoughts dispelled by the magic words, “There's land in

sight!" What a heavenly sound is this in ears that have been stunned, for many weeks together, on a rough and tedious passage, by the roaring of winds and waves, the clanking of chains, and all the indescribable creakings of a merchant ship which, at the close of each long dull day, caused a yet longer sleepless night.

Even when the land is not the one which we would prefer to see, and an involuntary exile is before us; even when, in times of overwhelming European interest, it is sad to leave the stirring scenes behind us; yes, even under all these disadvantages, so weary do we become of the monotonous sea, that any land at last appears delightful.

It was under such circumstances, that one day, in the spring of 1855, the south side of Bermuda appeared to the view of the writer of these pages and created pleasurable sensations.

The day before the transport * * * * * sighted Bermuda — and when the vessel was already getting into dangerous proximity with those rock-defended islands — the passengers discovered that the captain was more than fifty miles out of his reckoning. This was rather alarming, especially as neither the captain nor any of his mates had ever before sailed in those waters. We all began

to dread the possibility of our imitating the famous Sir George Somers who, in 1609, made his first acquaintance with the islands by being wrecked upon them.

A circumstance took place, whilst we were beating against a head-wind in view of our destination, which gave the final blow to our tottering confidence in the captain of the transport. We were steering about north-west, close-hauled with the land on our right hand, and running six or seven knots an hour. The captain was inspecting his chart upon the deck. He was asked to what point we were steering. He replied, "Towards St. George's." A glance at the map proved that this was impossible, as in that case the land would have been to our left. The map also plainly demonstrated, that if the ship continued on the same course for half an hour longer, she would infallibly strike on the south-western reefs. Besides the officers and crew of the transport, there were on board fifteen officers, and above two hundred soldiers of her Majesty's 26th regiment.

The captain was induced to look again at his chart. But it was by no means an easy matter to make him know his right hand from his left. When he saw the lighthouse, however, which he

knew was not in the direction of St. George's, he yielded, and at last put the ship about. He then ran down into the cuddy, and shouted to the little doctor, who was sitting there, — " Only think, we have been going the wrong way all this time ! "

Such is the ignorant imbecility into the keeping of which hundreds of valuable lives are frequently entrusted.*

It may easily be imagined how relieved the passengers felt, when at dusk a Bermudian government pilot came on board and took charge of the transport.

Whilst beating to the south-east that day, we saw a great number of whales sporting about in the waves ; spring being the season at which they appear in the open sea to the south of Bermuda. They are never, I believe, seen anywhere within the reefs.†

On the following day the pilot took us safely

* On news reaching Bermuda early last year (1856), that this transport had been taken up to convey troops to the East Indies, two officers, without concert, exclaimed, " But it will never get there ! " It was certainly doubtful at all events.

† *If* Waller's verses were good authority, we should believe that whales in the seventeenth century were caught in the Great Sound by *Warwick*, not far from Hamilton Harbour ; an incredible statement.

into St. George's harbour, through narrow passages, amidst intricate submarine rocks, which, however, were generally very distinctly visible in the clear water. But at times it appeared impossible for the vessel to pass without striking on one side or the other. The pilot, however, standing on the forecastle, and giving his orders, discerned, and avoided in time, all the dangers of the channel.

Our first view of Bermuda, from the south, had greatly disappointed us, who had heard so much of the beauty of the Somers' Islands. But this unfavourable impression vanished on approaching St. David's Head, and gave way to very opposite sentiments.

The entrance to St. George's harbour, by the eastern passage, is extremely pretty. Indeed it resembles what the mind imagines of fairy-land. As we advanced, lovely islands, green and well-wooded, opened rapidly out, on every side, floating in the tranquil clear blue water, here and there picturesquely embrowned by submarine coral rocks. No painter could possibly do justice to this moving panorama. The beauty of the scene attained its climax when the hill of St. George's, with its signal-station, and the town and barracks, gradually appeared in view; whilst the houses,

with their white roofs, had the refreshing appearance of being covered with eternal snow.*

To complete our pleasure, the excellent band of the Cameronian Regiment sent forth its delightful sounds from the hill above our heads, as though to welcome us; whilst a May-day setting sun sent a flood of mellow light to give to the closing scene its culminating beauty.

St. George's Island is about three miles long, and nowhere half a mile broad. It is connected by a ferry with the principal island, named in books and maps Bermuda, or the Great Bermuda; but now generally called after its capital Hamilton; for *Bermuda* being at present the ordinary appellation for all the islands collectively, the old nomenclature can only give rise to errors and confusion.

From the ferry to St. George's is called the "Reach." The water is there always smooth; being sheltered by land on either side. Through it vessels of small burden and sailing boats proceed to Hamilton and Ireland Islands.

To the north of St. George's is Murray's anchor-

* The houses are white-washed, chiefly to collect rain-water for the tanks; there being no springs, and only a few wells of brackish water in the island.





age, where vessels of war formerly lay at anchor ; and along which ships of burden too great for the reach pass on their way to the other islands. The present anchorage for the fleet, called Grassy Bay, is opposite Ireland Island, and Murray's anchorage is now only used temporarily, either whilst contrary winds render it difficult to proceed to Ireland, or when, on leaving Bermuda, it is thought advisable to save time in readiness for a start to sea.

The town of St. George's is called after Sir George Somers, its first founder, though nothing like a modern town existed in his days. It continued for more than two centuries to be the capital of Bermuda. Hamilton was incorporated in 1793 ; but it was not until 1815 that it superseded St. George's as the seat of the government and legislature. The governor who brought about this measure was rewarded with a large sum of money by a vote of the colonial parliament. Of course St. George's was compelled to pay its share of the money voted, and thus to reward for the injury done to her the very man that did it. But, however indefensible the conduct of the governor, the change was in itself a very proper measure.*

* Williams's Historical and Statistical Account of Bermuda.

St. George's is well fortified. It is defended by about ninety guns; but they are of a calibre unsuited to the times we live in.

Castle Harbour should no longer be suffered to remain in its present state. From Bermuda inwards it cannot be entered by sailing boats drawing more than five feet of water; but ships of large burden can enter it from the south-east, with a little care and a good pilot. And as there are no forts to guard the entrances, that side of the Bermudas may be considered quite defenceless. Some suggest the filling up of Castle Harbour; but that measure would be both difficult and expensive. It would be, moreover, cruel; for in tempestuous weather vessels sometimes take refuge there. The alternative is to fortify the entrance. A couple of batteries of eighty-four or even of sixty-eight pounders, on some of the little islands, near the mouth of the harbour, would be sufficient to render impassable a channel already difficult of access.*

It is said that the Bermudas consist of 365

* It has been remarked that the places in Bermuda which are almost impregnable by nature, are well defended by art; but that the weak points are left wholly defenceless. There is a considerable degree of truth in this remark, allowing for antithetical temptations.

islands, but thus to eke out an island for every day of the year it is probably necessary to include not only all the visible, but a good many of the submarine rocks.

If the reader looks at the map, he will see that the main part of Bermuda is formed of five islands. They assume the shape of "a shepherd's crook;" * running from north-east to south-west, and then gradually curving on to the northward.

These five islands are St. George's, Hamilton, Somerset, Watford, Boaz, and Ireland. They are all connected together by ferries or bridges, and form a chain of about twenty-four miles in length, and of a breadth varying from 300 yards, as in Ireland, to a mile and a half, as in some parts of the main island.

From the lighthouse at Gibbs Hill, at the south-west, the whole of the islands are visible at once; and the view from that elevation is by many persons considered the finest in Bermuda.

Somerset is perhaps the most picturesque of all the islands (especially the parish of Warwick). It has good roads, is well wooded, and is dotted with pretty residences and blooming gardens. Its communication with Watford Island across Man-

* Williams's Bermuda.

grove Bay was, up to May 1856, by means of a small boat ; but after endless delays, a ferry-boat, able to carry horses and vehicles, has at last started ; and now any one can drive from St. George's to the other end of the colony, across the five islands, a distance by the roads of nearly twenty-five miles.

For the sake of pleasure, or to avoid rough weather at sea, land travelling will occasionally be adopted ; but water communication is in most cases so much speedier, and in all cases so much cheaper, that it is not likely, whilst horses are so scarce, to be ever generally superseded. This will especially be the case when local steamers are introduced, according to a long-standing promise of the Home Government.*

Hamilton, the capital of Bermuda, lies at the water's edge of one of the prettiest harbours in the world. An excellent wharf, shaded by a row of cedar-trees, forms one side of the principal street,

* In June of last year (1856), the small steamer "Siren" arrived at Bermuda. It was intended to carry convicts to and from their labour ; but not being required for that purpose, the convicts having no great distances to proceed to at present, the governor employed it on military duty, but it soon got out of repair. The colony has voted 200*l.* a-year towards the expense of a local steamer, on certain conditions.



5. 2. WARD OF DUTY

WEST END OF HAMILTON WHARF

which is more than a mile in length. This proximity to the sea is highly convenient for trade, in a country where goods are conveyed almost entirely by water alone. Vessels of several hundred tons are brought up to the wharf: 600 tons (though one instance of 700 tons is recorded) is the maximum of burden of ships that enter this harbour.* Two or three merchant ships are generally at anchor there. Fishing boats, on their way out or returning, with government and pleasure boats (of the one mast, flush deck, Bermuda build), diversify and lend interest to the scene.

From the hill above Hamilton, there is a fine view of the harbour beneath, dotted with islands, with the lighthouse and Somerset in the distance.

There are some beautiful drives in Hamilton and Somerset; and the daily mails that ply on these roads are very convenient in the general scarcity of horses.

The appearance of Hamilton resembles that of most West Indian towns. The storekeepers transact their business there during the day, after which most of them retire to their country villas,

* Ships of larger tonnage remain at St. George's harbour, or "Grassy Bay."

leaving their stores locked up, but otherwise unprotected. This is sometimes the occasion of the commission of robberies, but not so frequently as might be expected from the generally dishonest character of the population; for crimes requiring nerve and resolution are, there, fortunately of rare occurrence.

The Yankees occasionally visit the Bermudas, during the winter months, for the sake of the mild climate; but the scarcity of good houses, dear-ness of house-rent, and the general absence of fire-places and other comforts, tend to lessen the influx of visitors. To remedy this inconvenience, the Corporation of Hamilton decided, some years ago, upon building a large hotel. The first stone was laid in 1852. He will, however, be a bold man, who will prophesy when the last stone will be laid. Corporation dissensions and want of funds placed the work in abeyance after little more had been built than the mere foundations. It has been begun again last year, and many hope it will soon be completed. It will, undoubtedly, be a source of great credit, and it is to be hoped of great profit also, to the people of Hamilton.* The

* The hotel is on a hill commanding beautiful views of great extent in every direction. When completed it will con-

uncomfortable and expensive boarding-houses will suffer by the change; but in most changes for the better some persons must unavoidably be losers.

The presence of her Majesty's ships at different periods of the year, is one of the greatest advantages of which the Mudians can boast; as the streets and harbours are thereby enlivened, and the storekeepers, fishermen, and poultry breeders greatly enriched. The prices of all food rise during the presence of the fleet. This, to be sure, is anything but an advantage to those who are not sellers, and who find articles of consumption — always scarce and dear in Bermuda — rendered scarcer and dearer than ever.

The presence of the fleet is attended with other inconveniences. Ladies, especially if unprotected, dread the streets of Hamilton when thronged by sailors and marines. The sailors, when on leave ashore, enjoy an almost unlimited freedom both of language and action. Their officers do not interfere with them, and refuse all redress if the

tain thirty bed-rooms, with a proportionable number of dining and sitting-rooms. The cost is estimated at 23,000*l*. In 1725 some one hoaxed the great disbeliever in *matter*, by *then* calling Bermuda "The Montpellier of America," but it may become *now*, possibly, the Isle of Wight of the western hemisphere, for steam approximates places greatly.

sailors are not on duty at the time their conduct is complained of; which, whether sanctioned or not by the Admiralty, is a disgraceful state of things quite unknown in the army.

Scarcely are Jack and Bill landed from their floating prisons, before

“They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them, breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the earth.”

Alas! the divinity of the sailors is a *rum* one, and their scorn of earth seldom lasts long. It generally ends in their embracing our common mother, after threatening that compliment to less patient females.

In the autumn of 1855, a party of these wild sons of Neptune stopped a vehicle containing two ladies, in the outskirts of Hamilton. They forced the younger of the two to alight, and having placed her on the road, said that “was all they wanted,” and they “only did it for a spree,” and that she “need not be frightened.” So they lifted her again into the carriage, without even snatching a chaste salute. To be sure it was not a Scipio or Alexander-like abnegation; for the alarmed fair one was a maid of the most mature experience.

There are, it is said, some policemen in Hamilton, though few strangers can bear ocular witness to the fact. Certain it is that the sailors are never interfered with. The latter contrive, moreover, to win golden opinions from the storekeepers, and from all those who have anything useful or useless to sell, and gold (far more than charity) covers a multitude of sins in the eyes of all the Saxon race, of which the Mudians are a branch.

Mount Langton, or Government House, is situated about a mile from Hamilton. It is one of the four military signal-stations of Bermuda; the other three being at Gibbs Hill, Ireland Isle, and St. George's. Amongst all these, telegraphic communications during daylight are kept up by parties of soldiers stationed at them for the purpose.

Admiralty House, or Clarence Hill, at Spanish Point, keeps up telegraphic communications with the men-of-war at Grassy Bay.

Colonel Reid, when Governor*, greatly improved the grounds at Mount Langton by plantations and gardens. The house is scarcely large enough for a married Excellency if he have a family. The

* *Now* Sir William Reid and Governor of Malta.

Governor no more than his subjects is exempted from the predatory incursions of the Lower Mudians. Indeed, they appear to give his grounds a preference. One night, Colonel Murray's sheep are thinned; on another, his Excellency's fruit and vegetables disappear to an unknown market; on yet another night, whole rose-trees — dug up evidently by the roots — have transplanted themselves from the vice-regal flower-gardens to humbler (I cannot say to more *modest*) locations.

But the description of the appropriating qualities of the Mudians must be reserved for another occasion.

If Bermuda could boast of a few lofty hills, its beauty would be greatly improved; but it has no land that rises 250 feet above the level of the sea; though it has scarcely any level ground. The want of variety in vegetation is another disadvantage. The various coloured oleanders, the pride of India, the now somewhat rare palmetto, and still rarer date-tree, and a few other trees, occasionally relieve the otherwise eternal cedar. The palmetto, however, is not a graceful tree. It bears, indeed, a very unsatisfactory resemblance to the beautiful palm-tree; and thus challenges in the mind a most unfortunate comparison. By the

excellent materials, however, that it furnishes for bonnets, it is very useful, and if not ornamental in itself, it is made so for the ladies. Every mail carries home, as presents, some portions of this fabric, as well as of a similar plait made from some long grass peculiar, I believe, to Bermuda.*

The cedar, although handsome, is neither "the Cedar of Lebanon," nor "the lofty cedar" of Shakespeare. It does not grow to any great size in Bermuda, which is perhaps owing to the great proximity of the sea on every side, and also to insufficient depth of soil. It has the appearance of a large dark fir-tree, and it abounds in nearly all the islands great and small.

Of the most striking beauties of the Somers' Islands some account will be given in a future chapter. Here, however, I must observe, that if Bermuda (in spite of many defects) were within one day's sail of England, I am convinced that neither Brighton, Tenby, Scarborough, nor the

* The supply of the palmetto-plant is becoming quite unequal to the demand. It is now scarcely exported except as private presents. English ladies are gradually extinguishing this tree in Bermuda. Bishop Berkeley, in 1725, wrote, "Bermuda hats are worn by our ladies; they are made of a sort of matting, which is the only commodity that I can find exported from Bermuda to Great Britain."

Isle of Wight, would rival it in fashion or popularity. But if nature has done much for Bermuda it has derived very little assistance from art. Excepting a magnificent, almost unrivalled, lighthouse and an unfinished church (that bears some resemblance to a cathedral deprived of its tower), there are only two conspicuous public buildings in the islands. These are in Hamilton, the capital. One contains the Court-House and the House of Assembly; the other the Council-Room and the Public Library. The latter was founded by Governor Reid, soon after his arrival in 1839. It contains already above a thousand works. Many of these are the gifts of governors and military officers as well as of natives. The library is open to the public without restriction.

With regard to land communication, there is a daily mail from St. George's to Hamilton, which returns in the afternoon. From Hamilton there is a mail to St. George's and back three times a week. There is also a daily mail from Somerset to Hamilton, returning in the afternoon. All these mails carry passengers. They have been established about fourteen years. An old soldier, formerly in the 20th regiment, has the St. George's contract. That of Hamilton (all the contracts are

annually competed for) has usually been in the hands of Mr. Facy, whose colonial career is deserving of mention.

Nearly forty years ago, Facy went out to Bermuda as a convict. His was a very hard case. Whilst quite a youth, he, in company with two other young men, carried off one of his own father's horses, sold it and spent the money. The father (a keeper of livery stables) brought his son before a magistrate, expecting that the latter would inflict some summary punishment, which might reform his prodigal; but to the father's horror, the case was sent to a jury, and wound up with a sentence of transportation. Facy was banished to Bermuda, but obtained his freedom in a few years. His liberation was accompanied by an unusual mark of favour. Bermuda, although a place of banishment, boasts of never having been a penal settlement. Facy became an exception to this rule. He was allowed to settle at Hamilton. His English energy and intelligence soon bore their usual fruits. For a time he turned his attention to roadmaking with considerable success, but his old love of horse-flesh returning, he at length adopted his father's business, letting out carriages and horses for hire. He, at one time,

had amassed a considerable sum of money ; and, in spite of the failure of some speculations, may still be considered a man of property. A horse-dealer is rarely an object of much respect, and Facy's antecedents were not of a nature to smooth the difficulty. Nevertheless, he is a good specimen of his class. His charges are certainly exorbitant ; but this must, of course, be the case where the supply is not equal to the demand.

It is probable that the failure of his speculations was considerably exaggerated at the time. For a few months ago, his old father (who with his mother is still living in England) wrote to him, that he had heard that he was quite ruined, and working on the roads under an overseer. To this calumny, Facy replied by sending home to his parents 150*l.* ; which must have filled with remorse as well as gratitude the father who had transported him.

The want of horses forms, perhaps, the principal discomfort of a residence in Bermuda.* There are in all the islands scarcely fifty hacks that would fetch twenty pounds each in the London market.

* By the census of 1851 (a considerable increase, however, must have since taken place), there were then only 259 horses, 5 mules and 31 asses in the country.

Thirty or forty pounds are sometimes given for a cart-horse, which in England perhaps would cost eight or ten. This is probably one of the principal causes why the roads have so seldom till lately been in good condition. Where the conveyance of goods, as also the travelling generally, is chiefly by water, a minority can alone be interested in the state of the roads. Roadmaking was long regarded merely as a profitable job. But the present governor has exerted all his influence to realise the first sign and first necessity of civilization. The roads are now very good; but horses are still too scarce. An occasional "*notion*" from the Yankees consigns some of them to the Mudian markets. Jonathan, however, evidently considers Bermuda as a hospital for the equine race; and accordingly sends thither only the halt, the lame, and the blind.

The Governor, nevertheless, has contrived to collect a good stud. He is an excellent whip. About a year after his arrival, His Excellency almost startled the little colony out of its phlegmatic propriety, by turning out a dashing four-in-hand, which would not have disgraced Hyde Park in the season, and which was the first of its kind ever seen in the Somers' Islands.

CHAP. II.

THE CLIMATE. — YELLOW FEVER. — EPIDEMIC OF 1856. — THE MANDRAKE REMEDY. — THE CHARCOAL PANACEA. — YELLOW FEVER IN NEW YORK. — THE NAVAL HOSPITAL. — MILDNESS OF EPIDEMIC IN 1856. — SUMMER OF LATTER COOLER THAN IN 1855. — THUNDERSTORMS IN 1855-6. — PENSIONER KILLED BY LIGHTNING. — WATER-SPOUTS. — WIND. — SNOW. — HAIL. — HURRICANES IN WEST INDIES. — NO REAL HURRICANES IN BERMUDA. — REVOLVING GALES. — DEW, THE FIRST RECORDED EXPORT. — COMPARISON OF RAIN IN ENGLAND AND BERMUDA. — WHY THE LATTER IS LIKE IRELAND. — ENGLISH MAIL WRECKED. — DANGERS OF NOT BEING WIDE AWAKE NEAR BERMUDA. — MACAULAY SAVED. — ST. PATRICK BLAMED FOR THE ACCIDENT. — WHALES. — AMBERGRIS, WHY FAMOUS. — SHARKS. — THE ARM AND RING.

ENGLISHMEN desirous of enjoying a mild winter might do worse than pass that season in the Somers' Islands. These can be reached, from Liverpool *viâ* Halifax, in from fifteen to seventeen days. The Americans, who can reach Bermuda in four or five days, have a still greater temptation occasionally to fly from their frosts and snows. Even up to the middle of June, the climate is most agreeable. Diseases are not common even in the

hottest weather, — and are almost unheard of in the winter. From July to October inclusive, but particularly in August and September, the heat is very oppressive. Nevertheless, on the whole, the troops generally enjoy better health in Bermuda than they do in England. This salubrity is probably owing to the mild sea breezes — seldom too cold, and only for a short season too warm — which perpetually play over the surface of the islands; and also to the comparative absence of that rank vegetation which prevails in tropical climates.

It is, unfortunately, true that yellow fever epidemics may be occasionally expected: but what country in the world escapes from all diseases? Asiatic cholera, which has travelled over the globe, has never visited Bermuda. Even the yellow fever has not hitherto appeared there, on an average, more than once in five years: and not once in ten years in an aggravated or very destructive form. As a general epidemic, it has appeared only four times in the last forty years; namely, in 1818-19, 1843, 1853, and in 1856.

In 1837, and again in 1849, some cases of yellow fever were reported; but the disease did not spread much on either occasion. It is also highly probable, that a bilious remittent fever,

which sometimes prevails during the hot season, has been occasionally mistaken for or exaggerated into yellow fever.

At the beginning of last August (1856), it was suddenly and unexpectedly announced that yellow fever had reappeared in the islands. It broke out in Somerset, and almost simultaneously in Warwick. It subsequently extended to Devonshire and Hamilton on the one side, and to Boaz and Ireland Island on the other. The disease, however, has fortunately in point of virulence borne no comparison to the visitation of 1853. It has differed also greatly in another point of view. In 1853 the Europeans were the chief sufferers; whereas, in 1856, they have almost entirely escaped. It therefore appears that a virulent fever arising in a hot summer, is not more fatal to Europeans than a less virulent epidemic during an unusually cool summer is to the natives, especially of the coloured population; for these last, who almost entirely escaped the disease in 1853, appear to have been the principal victims in 1856. It is probable that the unnatural coolness of the summer of 1856, which favoured the Europeans, was equally unfavourable to the constitution of the natives.

It will be an unfortunate thing indeed if the

exceptional circumstances of this last epidemic should encourage those habits of intemperance, to which so much of the mortality of 1853 amongst the Europeans was attributed, with great apparent reason. The improvements of a sanitary kind, which have been introduced of late years, have also greatly contributed probably to mitigate the force of what has evidently been in itself a mild form of epidemic.*

A Doctor Smith has rapidly acquired a local celebrity for the number of his cures. The zeal of friends and the jealousy of enemies, will make it difficult, for some time, to decide upon the amount of credit that is due to his skill and mode of treatment. Amongst the patients that he did lose, was one of his own children, an interesting little girl. The mandrake appears to be his principal remedy. He imported it from America, where it had been found very effective. It is the *Podophyllum peltatum*. It is celebrated in the Bible, and by Shakespeare; and is a common plant throughout North America. The fruit is sometimes eaten. The leaves are said to be poisonous. The root is a purgative and a strong one. In Bermuda, the

* Vide Appendix A. for fuller remarks on epidemics in Bermuda, for the last forty years.

medicine is called podophylline, and it has made a wonderful sensation there; but it does not follow that the remedy, if ever so efficacious on this occasion, would be equally successful in the case of a virulent epidemic like that of 1853.

The mandrake is not the only panacea in the field. The use of charcoal, three times a day, is getting into favour as a preventative or antidote. And some persons in good health, whilst hospitably offering their visitors refreshments, such as beer or wine, will themselves toss off, instead thereof, a good inky bottle-full of charcoal.

Another peculiarity of the fever of 1856 remains to be mentioned. St. George's Island (and especially the town) has, on all former occasions, been noted as the hotbed of yellow fever epidemics. But, in the late and possibly still existing fever, only three slight cases had occurred at St. George's up to the latest dates.* This fact rather strengthens the position of the advocates of communicability, for the greatest trouble was taken to prevent the disease being carried to St. George's. Every one arriving at the latter place, from any of the other islands, was compelled to pass through the process of fumigation. If the same measure had been adopted in regard to the dockyard, we should,

* Vide Appendix A.

probably, have had decided data, by this time, for judging of the degree of infection inherent in the present epidemic.

The yellow fever appeared in New York about the same time as it did in Bermuda. In the former it was undoubtedly imported from the West Indies ; and was proved to have been communicated in some cases. So that the inexplicable nature of the disease is again a subject of doubt and contention amongst the members of the most useful, and the most uncertain of all arts.

Another peculiarity of the last fever remains to be mentioned. In 1853, the beautiful parish of Warwick, at the south of the Great Sound, escaped the epidemic entirely. In 1856, on the contrary, it has been one of the most unhealthy of the infected localities.

In the Naval Hospital, at Ireland Island, the Deputy Inspector, Dr. Rees, has rivalled Dr. Smith in the extent of his cures. He has even done more, — having lost none out of eighty patients.

Except two officers *, there have been no deaths amongst the naval and military classes ; and very few amongst the convicts.

* One of these officers caught the fever after sitting for hours in his wet clothes, — an imprudence which might have been fatal, at any time, in any climate in the world.

The ladies of Bermuda have bestirred themselves in visiting and tending the sick, and in supplying the wants of the poorer classes of patients. In this respect, a good example has been set by the first lady in the little land, whose benevolence and kindness of heart add to nobility of birth the truer nobility of nature.

The closing statistics of the fever of 1856 (which was at its zenith at the author's departure) will not reach England for some weeks. But there can scarcely be a doubt that the fever will soon disappear in the cold weather; and that its worst results have already reached us. If so, the comparative mildness of the present visitation will be amply established by a mortality of less than one eighth of that of 1853, — and by the extraordinary exemption from its virulence of the seamen and soldiers, — and (in a less degree, however,) of the convicts also.

The summer of 1855, which was a very healthy one, was also hot and dry. In the town of Hamilton, during the hottest period (August and September), the thermometer usually ranged, at noon, from 83° to 90°; and did not fall much during the night. Even at the author's then residence above Hamilton, on a very airy spot, the

heat at one time rose to 87° , but was, however, usually several degrees lower.

The summer of 1856 never attained to the sultriness of its predecessor. Indeed, a large portion of May resembled a London November; and on the 1st of June, the officers of the mess, at Ireland Isle, had a fire lit for dinner.

In the author's drawing-room at Ireland Isle, the extreme heat, and that only for three or four days, early in August, was 83° . A heavy thunderstorm then occurred in the night, which did some damage, and injured, though it did not kill, some persons. It, however, apparently put an end to the hot weather; the author's thermometer never rising again above 80° , and falling sometimes even to 76° in August and September.

During the same summer, the heat in England rose to 86° at noon in the shade, as if the caloric, absent from its usual place in the west, had gone to pay an unwonted visit to the eastern hemisphere. In calculating, however, the heat in England, it must be recollected that it was confined chiefly to the middle of the day; the nights and mornings being comparatively cool, — thermometrically speaking, at all events.

The summer of 1856 was also remarkable in Bermuda from the comparative absence of thunder-

storms, which, in the previous summer, had been of constant occurrence. The storms generally arose very suddenly, after long calms,

“Wing’d with red lightning and impetuous rage.”

On one of these occasions, in 1855, the mast of one of the two vessels then lying in Hamilton harbour was struck. Some gentlemen saw what appeared to be a solid globe of fire strike the ground near the wharf. During the same summer, Mr. Anderson, the civil engineer, whilst in his sail-boat near the dockyard, beheld the descent of a similar terrific thunderbolt.

The most violent storm of that season broke out one day early in September. An old pensioner in charge of Port Island, was crossing from the latter to the south coast with a little girl seated opposite to him, when a flash of lightning was seen to strike the boat, partially filling it with water. Another boat speedily put off to their assistance. The child was found unhurt, but the pensioner was dead. The body had been stripped of its clothes, and the iron nails driven out of the shoes by the force of the electric fluid.

In the autumn of 1855, water-spouts were occasionally seen during the hottest days; but none were seen in 1856.

I was suddenly becalmed one day in 1855, in my sail-boat, outside Hamilton Harbour, whilst returning from the dockyard. The sky was black and heavy, with here and there pendant clouds, whose weight the atmosphere seemed unable to sustain. I saw one of these gradually descend and meet the sea. For some time the huge pillar appeared motionless, some miles from us; whilst the water, bubbling under it with boiling rage and a rushing sound, seemed impatient of its awful burden. At the same time a number of other water-spouts, at a greater distance, appeared upon the scene. Suddenly, the nearest one began to move and to approach us slowly where we lay in our little craft becalmed, yet far from calm.

At this uncomfortable moment, a breeze happily sprung up from the west, and the threatening column moved off majestically in an eastern direction, towards St. George's. It soon after vanished into airy nothing; whilst, with a fair breeze, our little craft pursued its way to Hamilton.

During the winter months, the thermometer ranges from 65° to 48°. The average may, I think, be put at 58°, in a cool room. At this season, the weather is delightfully bracing, when the wind is northerly, without being too boisterous.

The cold is strongly felt, but is very invigorating both to mind and body. The south-west wind, the prevailing one, is generally preferred by the natives, as the warmest in winter and the coolest in summer. A southern aspect therefore is usually chosen for the fronts of houses. And indeed, the northerly breezes, though sometimes very delightful, too often end, in winter, with storms, and in summer with oppressive calms. On the other hand, the south-west wind frequently feels close and oppressive, especially to Englishmen. It resembles, but is not so disagreeable as, the Levanter of the Mediterranean; it is also very destructive to furniture, wearing apparel, and food of all kinds.

In winter, snow has been known to fall, but not to lie. Hail is less rare. It has rattled down the author's chimneys more than once. One night in February, 1856, when it fell, the thermometer was at 48°, in a sitting-room, before the fire was lit. A storm then raged, which cut off, for a day or two, all communication between the islands unconnected by bridges. The ferry at St. George's was impassable, from the fury of the waves; as had also been the case for a day in November previous.

Although there are many days in winter when a fire is most agreeable to all persons, and necessary to some, yet few houses are supplied with fire-places, except, of course, in the kitchens. Property, in such cases, can be preserved from the destructive damp only by exposure to the north wind as often as the opportunity occurs.

Although not entirely exempt from hurricanes, the colony has never suffered much from these dreadful visitations. The great tempests that overwhelmed Barbadoes with horror and destruction in 1780, and again in 1831, have had no rivals in the annals of the Somers' Islands.

On the 11th of September, 1839, the Mudians experienced their last hurricane worthy of the name. But as not a single life was lost, nor any house entirely thrown down, a few unsubstantial houses only having been unroofed, it bore no resemblance to the Barbadian hurricane of 1831, when upwards of 7000 persons were killed or wounded, and when scarcely a single house was left standing.

This exemption from destructive hurricanes forms one of the many advantages which Bermuda possesses to become the principal stronghold of our island possessions in the west.

But although anything like a real hurricane is scarcely to be feared, yet, from the frequency and violence of its gales, Bermuda fully merits the classical appellation conferred upon it by the first of poets. It would seem, indeed, as if the furious elements, which occasionally overwhelm the more southern islands in a few hours, spread themselves out into many weeks for the benefit of "the still vexed Bermoothes."

Towards the close of 1855, and the commencement of 1856, there were constant gales of great violence. Out of ten vessels lying at one time at St. George's harbour, seven had been driven in by distress, after sustaining considerable damage and loss of life.

January and February, 1856, were marked by one almost unbroken series of gales, revolving from east to west, and so round by the north, in the manner so ably and accurately described by Sir William Reid.

When the wind, however, is moderate, or less than a gale, it does not appear to follow any regular rule; and in summer it often goes back to the north and north-west from the east, even when blowing pretty fresh.

Those who reside in the principal island, and

are not compelled by their avocations to be much on the sea, are not greatly annoyed by the gales ; for these freshen and purify the air, and contribute to the healthiness of the climate. Visitors who arrive in November and leave in June, will assuredly carry away with them none but pleasurable feelings: and probably when the hotel is completed, the good qualities of Bermuda as a winter residence will be highly appreciated.

The dampness of the climate would be less remarked, if a more solid style of building were adopted as well as a more general use of fire-places. But even from the earliest discovery of the islands, this peculiarity of the atmosphere must have been well known, otherwise Shakspeare would not have made Prospero call Ariel “up at midnight to fetch dew” * from so distant a spot — the first recorded article of export, by the way. It is to be regretted, that Ariel did not carry

* The Bermudians still accuse Shakspeare of placing the scene of *The Tempest* in Bermuda ; and because he imagined Bohemia to have “a sea coast,” they think it natural for him to describe a shipwreck between *Naples* and *Tunis* as occurring at *Bermuda*! But if they had ever read Shakspeare attentively they could hardly have supposed that Ariel was sent *to* Bermuda *from* Bermuda, which is the absurdity involved in their views of Ariel’s boast of his long voyage.

away with him more of the dew, for there is still a great deal too much.

Bermudians love to celebrate their pretty country as “the land where Ariel warbled and Moore sang.” It is certain that Moore (if not *at*, at all events, in consequence of his visit *to*, Bermuda) eventually *sang* to a pretty tune, and with a running accompaniment. But whether Ariel, travelling by such express as he did, could have found time to *warble* whilst collecting a cargo usually considered very trying to vocal efforts, may be fairly classed amongst other “historical doubts.”

It rains much less frequently in Bermuda than in England; the total fall in the former nevertheless is twice as great as in the latter, as the following table will prove, in a comparison of four years, up to 1855 inclusive.—

	Greenwich Observatory.	Dockyard, Bermuda.
	Inches.	Inches.
1852	34·2	49·84
1853	30·0	67·78
1854	19·0	47·09
1855	21·1	50·10
Totals for 4 years	<u>104·3</u>	<u>214·81</u> *

* Vide Appendix B.

The subject of the climate may be dismissed with a confident assertion, that from December to June (both inclusive) few spots in the world can rival Bermuda in healthiness and equably moderate temperature.* During those seven months, diseases of any consequence very seldom arise. Fevers, when they do occur, break out usually in July or August, and either vanish in November, or lose by that time nearly all their virulence.

Birds are rare objects for the greater part of the year. Plover are found in some places during the autumn; and afford a little amusement to such inveterate sportsmen as are content to toil throughout a hot day for a brace or two of birds.

The blue bird and the red bird are beautiful creatures. The small ground doves are very graceful. Besides these, the chick of the village, American crow, and moor-hen, are amongst the residents. Large hawks, nearly the size of eagles, occasionally show themselves, and have been even known to destroy poultry.

* The good Bishop Berkeley was a little too sanguine when (on the faith of some Bermudian testimonies) he wrote that the weather was "of one *equal tenor almost throughout the year*, like the latter end of a fine May;" but his observation would apply without much exaggeration to seven months of the year.

In the absence of venomous reptiles, the Somers' Islands almost rival the country of St. Patrick. Snakes are wholly unknown. Centipedes are occasionally found near caves or excavations, or in underground apartments: but no cases of any persons having been bitten by them have ever come to my knowledge.

An insect of a much smaller kind, with feet thin as human hair, runs about everywhere. It is called a fortipede; but it is quite harmless. The author himself never encountered a lizard, though said to be occasionally found. In Barbadoes, they were sometimes considered as pets,—coming daily after dinner to be fed with cake or other delicacies; pretty harmless alligators on a miniature scale. Cockroaches and ants abound; but these nuisances and their remedies will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Before the commencement of the late war, there was a regular mail to England once a fortnight; at present there is only one for every lunar month. Although sailing vessels from America occasionally bring news, yet the English mail is looked forward to by many as the greatest consolation of exile.

The English mail of the 1st March, 1856, was

due at Bermuda on the 18th of the same month ; but at daylight that morning it was announced, by the four signal stations, to be on the north rocks. The masts were visible both from St. George's and the dockyard. Soon the disagreeable news spread, that although the passengers and crew had been saved, yet the mails and cargo were all lost.

For this accident there was not even the excuse of bad weather. The previous day was fine and clear, with a moderate breeze. The captain expected to see the lighthouse about one A.M. It was three A.M., however, before it appeared in sight. Unfortunately he soon after went down below to lie down, and fell asleep in his cabin. About half past four A.M. he was awakened by the mate rushing in, exclaiming that the vessel was on the rocks. The steamer soon broke about the centre, the stern going down, and carrying with it all the mail bags. The passengers had barely time to escape to the fore part of the vessel, abandoning all their baggage. The captain ordered out the boats, but two of them were smashed in the attempt. A third was equally unsuccessful. The fourth, and last, under the management of the second-mate, met with a better fortune. Eventually all the

passengers and crew got safe ashore. Had the weather on the day the vessel struck been the same as on the day before, or as on the two subsequent days, not a soul could possibly have been saved. It was, in fact, quite a providential escape for the passengers.

Seven of the nine mail bags were subsequently picked up at sea; having floated out of the submerged portion of the wreck. The writer lost most of his newspapers, but recovered his letters and four books, which with time and patience were dried into a readable state. The third and fourth volumes of Macaulay's History were rescued in this manner from destruction.

It was reported that the captain of the steamer had made the voyage to Bermuda more than a hundred times. He was a great favourite and generally respected: and he received addresses condoling with his misfortune, and acquitting him of all blame. As the day before the accident was one dedicated to the celebrated saint of Erin's Isle, it is perhaps not surprising that a report spread that it had been somewhat jovially celebrated. However this may be, to be caught asleep on the reefs that surround Bermuda (and that in a steamer) was almost inexcusable in a commander;

and that when he went down to rest he had fancied himself further from the lighthouse than he really was, is scarcely a palliation for quitting the deck whilst approaching such notoriously dangerous islands.

Whale fishing, though not so zealously as formerly, is still carried on, chiefly by the coloured natives. These not only sell the oil, but devour the flesh with great *gusto*. The fishermen are so jealous of each other's success, that (if general report is to be believed) when they fail to find a whale themselves they will row towards a more fortunate competitor in order to drive away, by noise and splashing, any monster on the point of being surprised and harpooned.*

The sperm whale, which is considered equal in value to two or three of the ordinary kind, is now seldom found. It was from it that was procured, in ancient times, that *ambergris* on the exportation of which the English Company founded their principal hopes of commercial success. At present

* Mr. Todd, the Spanish Vice-Consul at St. George's, has still in his possession a piece of ordnance (half musket half cannon) imported from England some fifty years ago, with which he used to shoot whales with powder and a harpoon made for the purpose; the latter attached to the gun by a coil of rope — a most ingenious affair.

few Mudians are aware of what that drug is composed ; and that it was the manure of the sperm whale that attracted the nobility and merchants of England, early in the 17th century, to seek for shares in the then lately discovered Bermudas.

Large sharks seldom come within the reefs. They, however, occasionally follow ships into harbour ; and of late a greater number than usual have been seen, probably owing to the more frequent visits of men-of-war within the last twelve months.

Last April the American schooner "Laura" anchored at St. George's, having lost its master, when off the east end, in a melancholy manner. Whilst in the act of speaking a pilot boat he was knocked overboard by the fore-boom, and immediately sank to rise no more. A few days later, a large shark was captured near the spot where the master had disappeared, inside of which was found a man's arm with a ring on the finger. It was believed to be a part of the remains of the lost mariner. A shark had probably seized him before he could rise to the surface after his fall.

The sensation which the accident made was a sufficient proof of the rarity of such a misfortune in the Bermudian waters.

CHAP. III.

THE OLDEST ISLAND COLONY OF THE WEST. — NOMENCLATURE OF ISLANDS. — SOMERS *NOT* SUMMER. — FIRST DISCOVERY. — HENRY MAY, 1593. — FIRST MUDIAN BOATS. — SIR G. SOMERS WRECKED, 1609. — SIR G. SOMERS PROCEEDS TO VIRGINIA IN CEDAR VESSELS. — RETURNS TO DIE. — A POPULATION OF THREE MEN AND A DOG. — COMPANY CHARTERED, 1612. — THE FIRST GOVERNOR A WARLIKE CARPENTER. — ST. GEORGE'S. — PALMETTO HOUSES. — MUTINIES. — AMBERGRIS. — TOBACCO. — DISCONTENT OF THE COMPANY. — THE FAMOUS DAN TUCKER. — ENERGY AND TYRANNY OF TUCKER. — A RETORTED SERMON. — A WONDERFUL VOYAGE. — TUCKER, TO HIS HONOR, ABUSED AS A GARDENER. — THE PLAGUE OF RATS. — DIVISION OF THE LAND AMONGST THE COMPANY. — GOVERNOR BUTLER. — FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY. — TOBACCO AN ARTICLE OF PAYMENT. — GROWTH OF WHEAT RENDERED IMPERATIVE. — BUTLER'S MONUMENT TO SIR GEORGE SOMERS. — MARBLE IN *BERMUDA* LESS LASTING THAN STONE, AND THAT *NOT* ON ACCOUNT OF THE CLIMATE. — NEWGATE GENTLEMEN AND BRIDEWELL LADIES. — *IMPORTANT* POLITICAL STRUGGLES.

THE Bermudas are the oldest though the smallest, and the most important though the poorest, of our island colonies in the Western Hemisphere. For Newfoundland was not *colonised* till 1612; and Barbadoes did not become an English possession till 1625, sixteen years after Sir George Somers had

been wrecked, and had founded a colony on the islands, which now bear his name as one of their appellations.

Thoroughly to understand the state of the colony, a short historical retrospect is absolutely necessary. But as there are not many remarkable events deserving of being recorded, I shall endeavour to be as brief as is compatible with a tolerable degree of clearness and accuracy.

The Bermudas, though so limited in extent, rejoice in no less than four appellations, namely, "The Bermudas,"—"Bermuda"—"The Somers' Islands," and "The Summer Islands." The last mentioned name is simply an error, and though of long standing is not the less incorrect.

The title of "*Summer Islands*" never properly belonged to any save the West Indian Islands, whose sultry winters contrasted strangely with the bitter cold of North America at the same season.* In Addison's "Spectator" the epithet "Summer Island" is very properly applied to Barbadoes; but it has been applied to Bermuda only as a corruption of Summers' or Somers'; for in the old narratives, the surname of the knightly

* Most of the West Indies were founded by our North American colonists, as was also Bermuda.

founder of the colony is spelt both ways, sometimes even in the same history, as will shortly be shown. But though these authors frequently wrote *Summers*, they never wrote *Summer*. That has been a subsequent error; by which the name of an individual, given to one cluster of islands, has been confounded with the name of a season given to other islands many hundreds of miles to the southward.* The reader has seen, in the last chapter, how inapplicable the name of Summer Island is to a place like Bermuda, which in winter, for a few months at least, may certainly be called cold.

It is true indeed that Captain John Smith, in his work (published in 1624, and again in 1629,) includes Bermuda, in his General History, with the West Indian Islands, under the name of the "Summer Isles," but when on the subject of Bermuda itself, neither he nor the other authors whose narratives he inserts ever use such a title on any occasion.

A Spaniard, named Juan Bermudez, was the first discoverer of the islands, which are still called after

* Bishop Berkeley made this mistake, knowing, as he did, nothing of Bermuda except by hearsay. Sam Slick has for the same reason followed the bishop.

him. It is said that, when his vessel was wrecked, his cargo of hogs swam ashore, where they afterwards greatly multiplied, and became quite wild.

Henry May, who calls himself "a worthy mariner" (probably synonymous with the present term of able seaman), was the first Englishman in Bermuda. He published the account of his shipwreck. It does not occupy two pages in Smith's History. It is entitled "A briefe relation of the shipwracke of Henry May, 1593." It concludes thus: "Written by me, Henry May." It tells us that May was wrecked in a French vessel upon the north-west end of the Bermudas, at the close of 1593, through the carelessness and drunkenness of the pilots, who imagined themselves to be many miles southward of the islands. Out of fifty souls, twenty-six were saved; the rest being left by the French captain "to the mercy of the seas." Arrived on shore, they searched for water and found some rain water. By digging, they also (May says) obtained spring water. This was no doubt salt water purified by filtration through rocks and sands, since no real spring has ever been discovered in Bermuda.

The carpenter's tools, nails, sails, and tackling having been brought ashore from the wreck, the



A VIEW FROM GIBBS HILL

new colonists rapidly built a cedar bark of eighteen tons. Instead of pitch, they used lime and turtle oil. With this, after caulking her, the boat was plastered. It quickly dried, it being then April, "and became as hard as a stone." They collected a supply of rain water, and took fifty live turtles. "But the hogs we found," says May, "were so lean that we could not eat them." For bread, they used the tops of palmetto berries, and mixed in their drink the juice of that tree. With the long leaves they covered their cabins, and made their beds.* After a residence of five months, they left the islands in their new vessel, on the 11th May, 1694.

The first *English* ship known to have been wrecked upon the Bermudas (for it can hardly be said to have arrived at them) was one of nine vessels on their way to Virginia; which were under the command of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers. The former was Governor of

* It was from this narrative, no doubt, that Waller took his principal ideas of Bermuda, for example : —

"The sweet palmettos a new Bacchus yield,
With leaves as ample as the broadest shield,
Under the shadows of whose friendly boughs,
They sit carousing where their liquor grows."

Virginia and the latter Admiral of the seas. The ship which carried the two knights was separated from the rest of the fleet by a terrible storm, in the summer of 1609.* After the ship had struck on the rocks, a sudden calm facilitated the escape of the passengers in the boats, without the loss of a man. They amounted to 150 souls. It appears, by a stone which commemorates the event, that the party landed at the south-east of the principal island, nearly abreast of the Flats Village. On landing, they were so agreeably surprised at not finding the place a "den of furies and devils, the most dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorn place in the world" (as the Spaniards had represented it) that they went into the opposite extreme of exaggerating its merits. They declared, that it was "the richest, healthfullest, and pleasantest" place "they ever saw!" Their palmetto cabins were easily built, and fish and hogs were abundant. They lived therefore in "peace and plenty" for about nine months. That peace, however, was oc-

* "The first English ship knowne to have been cast away upon the Bermudas, 1609, from the relation of Mr. Jordan, Master John Euens, Master Henry Shelley, and diuers others." — *Vide Captaine John Smith's Generall Historie.*

casionally broken by mutinies: one mutineer was sentenced to be hanged, and was actually shot.

Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, the chief persons of the late vessel, the "Sea Adventure," after sending the long boat (which was never again heard of) to Virginia, set their men to building two cedar ships, one of eighty, the other of thirty tons. On the 10th of May, 1610, the new ship sailed, leaving only two men behind, who were malefactors deserving of punishment.

Sir George Somers proceeded to Virginia, intending afterwards to return to England. But a newly arrived Governor of Virginia having heard that there were in the Bermudas "plenty of hogs and other good things," was desirous of sending there for supplies. Sir George Somers, therefore—although eighty years of age, and possessed of a good fortune in England—volunteered to perform again the very dangerous voyage. On the 19th June, he once more sailed for the Bermudas in his cedar-built vessel of thirty tons. He returned however, only to die within a few months, chiefly from fatigue and exhaustion. He expired at the place where the town of St. George's (so called after him) now stands. The islands also were ever

after called “the *Summers’ Isles*” * in honour of his “worthy memory.” His body was embalmed and carried to England ; on which occasion only three men were left behind (one of whom had a dog), and these formed for nearly two years both the rulers and people of Bermuda. But even then “the state tottered.” Fights are said to have occurred amongst them, — in which the dog took an active part. But they must have been of the nature of Marryat’s triangular duel ; and no life was lost.†

At length these three men were dispossessed of power by the arrival of a party of colonists ; one of whom brought out a regular commission as Governor. He was sent out by that great company of adventurers who had for some years ruled the American colonies, and to whom King James the First had (on the 12th of March, 1612) granted the newly discovered islands by letters patent.

The Company included some of the noblest names

* The name in those days was sometimes written *Summers*, but generally, as now, *Somers*.

† Although I think I have shown, in the last chapter, that Shakspeare did not lay the scene of *The Tempest* in Bermuda, yet the then recent strange accounts of the latter — especially of the solitary three inhabitants — evidently furnished him with some suggestions.

of England and Scotland. Amongst them were the Marquis of Hamilton, Sir John Smith, the Earls of Devonshire, Pembroke, Warwick, and Southampton, Lord Paget, and Sir Edwin Sands. To these names and that of Sir George Somers, the nine parishes of Bermuda owe their present designations. Amongst the company (which consisted of about 150 members) were several other titled adventurers, whose names have not been immortalised by Bermudian localities. Such were Lord Cavendish, Sir Edward Harwood, Sir Dudley Digs, Sir Samuel Sands, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Thomas Hewet, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, and Sir John Davers.

This Company had the privilege of electing the Governor, and of settling the policy of the new colony. In 1612, they accordingly sent out Master Richard More, a carpenter by trade, with a party of sixty men; a portion of whom were to act as his council.

The Company relied chiefly upon the exportation of ambergris and cedar wood, and the planting of tobacco, for the realisation of their hopes of profit. A tree called yellow-wood, which has since disappeared, was also in great repute.

It was no bad idea of the Company to select a carpenter to act as pioneer to the government of an infant colony. But Governor More was not content to stick to his trade. He thought much less indeed of felling trees than of raising forts and establishing a strong government. He commenced with quelling, by his firmness, a mutiny amongst "his followers." More had originally landed on Smith's Island, but he soon removed to St. George's. He there built himself a cabin of palmetto leaves in that valley where the town of St. George's afterwards rose, to become, and to remain for two centuries, the capital of Bermuda. More built or laid the foundations of eight or nine forts. With a prophetic eye, he evidently foresaw from the first the true future value to the mother country of the new possession. The Governor brought to his knees and to his senses a fanatical preacher who had nearly caused a mutiny by railing at More, "for grinding the faces of the poor by making them toil with *Pharaoh's taxes*" — that is, I presume, hard work and no pay. He next built a church of cedar. But on this being blown down by a tempest, he built another of palmetto leaves, which, strangely enough, appears to have answered better.

Apprehension early existed that the Spaniards were going to attack the infant colony. More made his men work harder than ever at the defences. Meantime the Company was dissatisfied. Ambergris (or ambergreece as they called it) was not sent home fast enough. Their chief expectations of profit depended on the exportation of this article, to which reference has already been made in the previous chapter. It is impossible to believe that the sperm whale could ever have been sufficiently plentiful to justify any rational expectations of a lucrative trade in ambergris. But those were days of gross ignorance and blind speculations.

The Governor had planted tobacco soon after his arrival; but it was some time before any could be exported to England.* And the other productions of the soil were shipped off but slowly, and at long intervals. The Company continued to send out

* The tobacco trade could not have lasted many years, after 1629, the last date of Captain Smith's history; for Bishop Berkeley, writing in 1725, says that the islands had "no sugar, *tobacco*, or the like, wherewithal to trade with England." Waller, some eighty years earlier, wrote,

"Tobacco is the worst of things, which they
To English landlords as their tribute pay."

fresh colonists and supplies, accompanied by demands and reprimands. The delay in sending home ambergris was the especial charge against the Governor. At length the quarrel grew so serious, that More, expecting to be recalled, took the initiative, and sailed for England ; where he was relieved of his charge, but otherwise civilly treated. Subsequently, the Company gave him eight shares of land, when the distribution of the country amongst " the adventurers " took place.

More left in 1615. After his departure, six of the colonists acted as governors ; each, in turn, for a month at a time. Some intestine discords, as well as scarcity of food, continued to disturb the colony. The Puritanical preachers were generally, it appears, the firebrands.

Daniel Tucker (Tuckar it was then spelt) arrived, and assumed the government in 1616. Although he found the colonists unwilling to labour for the Company, he set them at St. George's " to clear grounds, set corn, square timber, and to plant vines and other fruits brought out from England." Dan Tucker was a stern master, and enforced very hard labour, insomuch that many attempted to escape to Virginia. Some of these were lost at sea, others were captured, and of the

latter, one was actually hanged. The Governor paid his men, however, for their work "with meat, drink, clothes, and also a certain kind of brass money, with a hog on one side, in memory of the abundance of hogs found at the first landing."*

Tucker established a regular government; he divided the colony into tribes; he appointed bailiffs, held assizes, and opened a trade with the West Indies. But his zeal and energy were tarnished by a large measure of tyranny. The Governor's deputy who presided at the first assizes (held at St. George's) hanged one John Wood, a Frenchman, "for speaking many distasteful and mutinous speeches" against the Governor. The latter moreover was wont, it appears, to bastinado the poorer sort with his own gubernatorial hands.

It was in consequence of Dan Tucker's tyranny, that five men, after deceiving the Governor as to their intentions, started boldly for England in a sail boat of only three tons, which they had built for the purpose. They also borrowed a compass from their preacher, for whom they left a farewell epistle. In this they reminded him how often he had exhorted them to patience under ill-treatment,

* Captain Smith.

and had told them how that Providence would pay them, if man did not. They trusted, therefore, that he would now practice what he had so often preached.*

These brave men endured great hardships on their rash voyage. But at the end of about forty-two days, they arrived at Ireland (at what port is not mentioned), and were honourably entertained by the Earl of Thomond. They had sailed "3300 miles through the ocean without any sight of land, and I think" (writes Captain Smith), "since God made the world, the like navigation was never done nor heard of."

The principal of these five heroes, named Saunders, appears to have been born under a lucky star. He once bought an old chest at a sale of a prize ship in the East Indies. But finding it had no key, he wished to sell it again, even at a loss. However, he was obliged to carry it away with him. It lay long neglected in his ship; till one day, having nothing else to do, he broke it open, and to his astonishment and delight found it contained about a thousand pounds in gold, with which he purchased an estate in England.

* Captain Smith.

Governor Tucker encouraged agriculture to such a degree, that some of his grumbling superiors at home wrote to him that he was fitter to be a *gardener* than a governor. In his time, also, whale-fishing was commenced; but not, it would appear, successfully.

At his third assize, Tucker again hanged one of his subjects.* If we are to credit Captain Smith, it was to punish old Dan for his cruelties, that Providence sent a plague of rats, which suddenly swarmed over all the islands. Some vessels with their cargoes had brought out great numbers of these noxious vermin. With great energy, by means of dogs and traps, the nuisance was considerably abated, but has certainly never entirely disappeared from the islands.

In 1618, the land was accurately divided amongst the English Company, by a surveyor sent out for the purpose. From one to ten shares were given to each "adventurer;" but a certain portion of the soil, including all St. George's Island, was set apart as government property.

* In forming an idea of the number of Dan Tucker's executions, it must be borne in mind that all his subjects at this time did not probably exceed 500 souls. He appears, therefore, by Captain Smith's History, to have hanged a good percentage.

We are not exactly told when the colonists generally substituted cedar-built houses for their palmetto habitations. But Governor Tucker appears to have early taken good care of himself: for he seized upon the first house of cedar which the colonists built and intended for more general purposes than old Dan's residence. They murmured at this and other grievances; but gained no redress either from him or the Company at home. The Governor sent to England such quantities of tobacco that his employers were disinclined to listen to any complaints against him, however well founded.

But Tucker chose at last to return to England of his own accord.

The next *permanent* Governor deserving of record, was Captain Nathaniel Butler. He arrived in October, 1619, with some hundreds of colonists; by which the population was raised to a total of 1000 souls. At his departure, about three years later, it had increased to 1500.

The first General Assembly was held by Captain Butler on the 1st of August, 1620 (according to instructions sent out by the Company), at St. George's. It consisted of the Governor, council, bailiffs, burgesses, secretary, and a clerk. It appears that they all sat in one house, which was probably built of

palmetto leaves. Most of the Acts passed on this occasion were very creditable to the new legislators. Some provided for the manning and provisioning of their principal fort, King's Castle, and for the payment of its little garrison of twelve men, who appear to have formed part of a local militia which furnished this duty by rotation. 3000 ears of corn and 1000 lbs. of tobacco were voted for the annual pay of these twelve men ; for money was not yet in general use in the islands.

One of the new laws forbade the sending out old and impotent colonists. Another made it *imperative in every family to grow a certain quantity of wheat*, and enjoined the keeping of poultry. There was also a law authorising the levy of a tax of a 1000 lbs. of tobacco, towards defraying the expenses of bridges and other public works.

It is evident that tobacco was at this time the principal produce of the colony ; and also that the growing of wheat was then considered quite feasible. And it certainly was a wise proceeding to determine not to be dependent on foreign supplies for the staff of life.

Governor Butler, as More had done before him, turned his chief attention to the building and repair-

ing of forts and magazines. He also finished the cedar church at St. George's, commenced by one of his temporary predecessors. He moreover caused the Assembly to pass an Act for the building of three bridges, and thus initiated the useful project of connecting together the principal islands.

Butler held numerous assizes, at one of which he hanged a man — though he does not appear to have been as severe as Tucker. He made laws as to the growth of tobacco, and built a stone house for the captain and guard of King's Castle.

One day, whilst walking at St. George's, Governor Butler accidentally discovered a small cross amongst some thick bushes. He learned that the heart and entrails of Sir George Somers had been buried there, before sending the body to England. Butler resolved to raise a more fitting monument "of that worthy soldier."* He therefore built a handsome marble monument, and caused it to be securely walled round. He also put up a rhyming inscription of no great beauty, which records that Sir George died in 1611.

* Captain Smith. We must not be surprised at "the Admiral of the Seas" being styled a "soldier." In those days the same man was often at the same time general and admiral. They were capital days for men of rank and interest.

This tomb has entirely disappeared.* The spot where it once stood is still shown in the Governor's garden at St. George's, which for some years has been used as a kitchen garden for the officers' mess; and which contains four splendid date-trees. An old tomb of stone, in memory of a Mr. Hope, is in good preservation close to the spot shown as the site of Sir George's monument. It is probable that the superior value of the marble may account for its inferior durability to stone.

When Captain Butler returned to England, he left the islands in a greatly improved condition. But in his time also there were such frequent discontents and mutinies, that at last, "he longed for a deliverance from his thankless and troublesome employment."

A few of the colonists who arrived in Butler's time were "gentlemen of good fashion," who brought "their wives and families." On the other hand, some of the lower orders sent out by the

* No living person ever saw a fragment of the marble tomb. It is true, indeed, that Williams (writing eight years ago) records that some fragments of Sir George's tomb were then still in existence. But as he talks of broken *stone*, it could not be the "great *marble* stone, brought out from England" by Captain Butler's order.

Company are described by Captain Smith to have been of "such bad condition, that it seemed they had picked the males out of Newgate and the females from Bridewell." The ladies from Bridewell, however, soon became brides; for as there was then in the Bermudas a great scarcity of females, the Governor gave the newly arrived ones to some colonists, "who were so greedy of wives that they would needs have them for better or worse." It is to be feared that the happier alternative could not on this occasion be reasonably expected.

The men of *Newgate* appearance were added to the garrison of King's Castle; any one being then, as now, considered good enough to be an English soldier.

In the next chapter, the history of Bermuda will be succinctly brought down to the present date. Those who are interested in the petty quarrels of governors and their legislatures, and in the tedious details of colonial assemblies, must consult the work of a late intelligent *native* historian, Mr. F. Williams.

Whether or not soldiers should fill the aisles of a church — whether or not a treasurer should give increased securities — whether the Governor should have a voice in the appointment of the speakers —

these and such like questions sufficed to convulse the little colony. The governors, like miniature Cromwells, marched into the House of Assembly soldiers who were denied seats in the church : and in short, excepting that there were no civil wars, the political struggles for liberty in the mother country were duly imitated, on a very reduced scale, in the small and remote Bermudas.

CHAP. IV.

THE COMPANY'S DISAPPOINTMENT.—THE PIRATICAL GOVERNOR.
 —LOSS AND RECAPTURE OF TURK'S ISLAND.—TREACHERY
 OF THE BERMUDIANS.—ELIGIBILITY TO ACT AS GOVERNOR.
 —GOVERNOR REID.—LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS.—AGRICULTURE.
 —EMANCIPATION A BOON TO MASTERS.—PROGRESS OF
 AGRICULTURE.—DECLINE OF COMMERCE.—EXPORTS DOUBLED
 IN A FEW YEARS.—LOCAL *VERSUS* HOME GOVERNMENT EX-
 PENSES.—PRODUCTIONS OF THE SOIL.—DESIRABLE EMPLOY-
 MENT OF CONVICTS.—THE PRINCIPAL EXPORTS.—STATIONARY
 NATURE OF THE POPULATION.—SUPERIOR BERMUDIAN VES-
 SELS.—THE LOCAL LEGISLATURE.—NECESSITY OF REFORM.
 —ABSURD DUES.—REPRESENTATION.—PROLONGED ELECTIONS.
 —LOVE FOR OBSOLETE LAWS.—SUDDEN PROROGATION
 OF LEGISLATURE IN 1856.—HOW TO POCKET DOLLARS
 PLEASANTLY.—CONVENIENCE OF TEMPORARY ACTS.—IMMI-
 GRATION BILLS.—THE OPINION OF GOVERNORS ON LOCAL
 REFORM.

THE Company discovered by degrees that the Bermudas were not the Eldorado which they had fondly imagined them to be. Their charter ceased in 1684*; ever since which period the English Secretaries of State have been the supreme rulers of the colony.

* About this matter Mr. F. Williams (or his printer's devils) made a strange mistake, giving the date of 1697 to an Order in Council of Charles II., who died in 1685.

The oldest printed Act of the Colonial Government which can be discovered in the Bermudian archives bears date 1698. But in 1687 writs were issued for the election of an Assembly of four persons from each of the nine parishes, in the same manner as occurs at the present day. Indeed, the form of government appears to have undergone no material change since its first establishment on constitutional principles. Whilst the mother country and nearly all her dependencies have occasionally adopted vigorous reforms, Bermuda alone has resisted all change; practically asserting that its constitution sprang into political existence perfect at once,—like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter.

I have already stated my intention of passing over the long and petty contentions of the different branches of the Bermudian legislature. One governor, however, deserves especial mention. In 1691 a civilian, named Isaac Richier, Esq. arrived from England to assume the government. The account of his reign reads like a romance; though there was certainly nothing romantic in his nature. The love of gold, and the determination to possess it, was the one idea of his statesmanship. He was a pirate at sea and a

brigand on land. Nevertheless it does not appear that any of his misdeeds—such as hanging innocent people and robbing British ships—either led to his recall, or caused that extraordinary degree of indignation which such conduct usually arouses. The fact appears to be, that, although Governor Richier was a bold bad man, fitter to be a convict than a governor, yet few of his subjects were entitled to throw the first stone at his excellency.

The first general commerce in which the Bermudians engaged was the gathering salt in Turk's Island. Whilst many of them were so employed, in 1710, the Spaniards made a descent and carried them all off as prisoners.

A few years later, the Bermudians took their revenge: they despatched a force, at their own expense, which retook the Cays of the Bahamas,—the permanent possession of which they were thus entitled to claim. At first the English Secretary of State held out to them flattering hopes: but, after a very protracted correspondence, the claim was finally rejected, to the general and just indignation of the Bermudian conquerors.

A less honourable circumstance must now be recorded. On the 14th August, 1775, the powder

magazine at St. George's was broken into and plundered, and its contents sold to the rebel Americans. The traitorous perpetrators of this shameful deed were never punished; nor, as to any certainty, discovered. Great numbers were supposed to be implicated in the crime; and a lasting stain was cast upon the patriotism and loyalty of the colonists.

From this period up to the arrival of Governor Sir Stephen Chapman, early in 1832, there is nothing worthy of particular mention. Sir Stephen left Bermuda to proceed to New York, for the recovery of his health, on the 21st April, 1835. At that time the rule was that the senior member of council should act as governor, in the absence of the latter functionary. The then senior member, however, was so unpopular, that his colleagues petitioned the Governor not to appoint him. The latter, to comply with the general wish, suspended that gentleman from the council. By this means, on Sir Stephen's departure, the second member assumed the reins of government. But the Home authorities annulled, by the return of post, the arbitrary decision; and the senior member of council, who was also colonial secretary, became the acting governor.

But Sir Stephen Chapman, at his return early in 1836, brought with him a new order, regarding vacancies in the governorship. By this, the senior officer in command of H. M.'s troops, acts as governor during any vacancy which may occur in that post.

Mr. Williams, the late native historian, thus writes on this subject: — “This was a very proper alternative, as there are many obvious objections to placing the administration of a small community like the Bermudas in the hands of a native of the place.”

It is indeed obvious that persons independent of local interests are fitter to represent Majesty than any native gentleman however respectable. For the latter can scarcely avoid being entangled in local dissensions, or being influenced by personal predilections and antipathies, which not only render impartiality very difficult, but tend also greatly to lessen respect for the monarchical branch of the constitution.

On the other hand, it must be confessed that, as the command of the troops in Bermuda is not a matter of selection, but devolves on whoever is accidentally the senior officer at the moment, there is no security that he shall always be a

person fitted to combine the supreme civil and military authority; especially as he is allowed no previous training in the former capacity. The simple remedy for this last defect is to copy the example of the Indian governments, and to make the officer commanding the troops first member of council. Indeed, the measure is even more necessary in most of our colonies than it is in India; for in the latter, the military chiefs never assume (even temporarily) the civil government.

The supreme civil and military command at Bermuda passed in 1853 through the hands of half a dozen field-officers; and this not solely from the effects of fever, but partly also from the successive arrival of officers senior to the one in temporary charge of the government. In deference to common sense, an acting governor, once duly sworn in, should be relieved only by the arrival of the permanent governor.

Before proceeding to give a brief sketch of modern Bermudian politics and statistics, it is necessary to observe that, considered in a purely commercial point of view, such details could scarcely interest the British reader. But if the Bermudas be considered in their true light, as a great naval and military fortress, then the

subject assumes a new and more important bearing. Gibraltar, which has cost and costs enormous sums, is a barren rock, which in itself produces nothing ; whereas Bermuda, under proper management, might certainly in some degree repay the great expenditure it entails on England.

In 1839, Colonel Reid assumed the government, and did not quit it till near the close of 1846. During this period, that distinguished officer greatly improved the colony committed to his charge. His special attention was turned to three points, which had for some time been greatly neglected ; namely, education, agriculture, and local improvements.

With regard to local improvements, Governor Reid widened the eastern entrance of St. George's harbour, and made preparations to remove the sand bank by submarine explosions. He also projected the connecting of the main island with St. Georges, by means of bridges to either shore from Hen Island. The Bermudians attribute the non-execution of these latter plans to the vacillating conduct of Governor Reid's successor.

The subject of education will be discussed in a future chapter.

The improvements in agriculture, introduced

by Governor Reid, have greatly advanced the wealth of the Island. The subject deserves, therefore, to be briefly considered in this place.

During the earlier years of the colony, ship-building was strictly prohibited by the Company, who would not suffer a cedar-tree to be cut down without its sanction. The Bermudians, therefore, necessarily became agriculturists. But when the rule of the Company ceased, the natives zealously embraced the occupations of ship-building, commerce and fishing, the previous restrictions acting as strong additional incentives to natural predilections. The most worthless slaves were employed in agriculture; the better ones as domestic servants and boatmen. This circumstance naturally brought agriculture into contempt. For a long time a white man could scarcely "ever be induced to follow occupation in the fields."* Even at the present day, agricultural labourers demand very high wages, I believe as much as three shillings a day.†

Emancipation gave an additional blow to agriculture. For the negro when freed was naturally

* Williams's Historical and Statistical Account.

† Having mislaid the note he made on this subject, the author writes from memory as to the price of field labour.

averse from an employment which he had been taught to consider as a degradation even in slavery.

In some West Indian colonies, the actual necessity of field labour for raising sugar, the passion of the blacks for that article of consumption, and the advantage of a teeming coloured population (accustomed to the work), have tended to check the decline of agriculture. But in Bermuda the coloured people even now form not very much more than half the population; and they find (when they choose) plenty of employment in ships, boats, and in domestic service. Thus, field labour is, with them, no necessity. Before, therefore, improvements in agriculture could be hoped for, it was necessary to eradicate some of the strongest prejudices of both the white and coloured population.

That this has been in a great measure effected, is fully established by local statistics. In 1839, there were only 3 ploughs in Bermuda; in 1843, about four years after the arrival of Governor Reid, they amounted to 54; and in 1851, they had increased to 104.* At present, they are in

* Vide census of 1851, Appendix E. In the census of 1843, the labourers are more numerous than the domestic servants.

general use, except in cases where the spade is preferred ; as, for instance, in planting potatoes,—an article which is beginning to rival arrowroot as a staple commodity. Most imports are subject to a duty of three per cent. ; but agricultural implements of every kind, seeds, plants, young trees, &c., are admitted, free of all duty.

In the spring of last year (1856), the Bermudian barque “Pearl” brought out from England a farmer and two assistants, for the purpose of cultivating, on improved principles, the lands of Joseph Stowe Shaw, Esq. They had been engaged by Mr. Shaw’s agents in London. Unfortunately, the Mudians cannot boast of this enterprising undertaking, Mr. Shaw being a native of the United States.

Whilst the American colonies of Great Britain were in their infancy, the Bermudians were, for some time, the carriers of their goods to the West Indies. But here again very few natives were the owners of the vessels so employed, British and foreign merchants reaping nearly all the

By the census of 1851 the reverse is the case, implying a falling off again of agriculture, at the first view ; though the increase of the use of ploughs latterly is the true explanation of the circumstance.

harvest. That trade was gradually lost, as the United States progressed; and Bermudian commerce at length sunk almost to the lowest state.*

In an average struck about ten years ago it was discovered that the number of seamen employed in trading vessels was, in America, 1 to 25 tons,—in England, 1 to 17½ tons,—and in Bermuda, 1 to 14 tons.† As the Americans can thus do the work of nearly double the number of Mudians, what chance can the latter have in commercial competition?

Commerce, however, has certainly improved of late years; thanks chiefly to the exertions and personal example of Governor Reid. The year before the latter arrived, 1839,

			£	s.	d.
The Imports were	-	-	124,824	0	2
The Exports	-	-	19,941	3	11
In 1855 the Imports were	-	-	162,556	4	8
Exports	-	-	41,420	0	9

* Williams's Bermuda. — Bishop Berkeley speaking of the Islands in 1725 says, "These having no rich commodity, or manufacture, such as sugar, tobacco, or the like, wherewithal to trade to England, are obliged to become carriers for America as the Dutch are for Europe." The idea of Bermuda performing the carrying trade for America appears, *now*, as ridiculous as *the non-existence of matter*.

† Williams's Bermuda.

It is true that if each year be specified, the greatest augmentation will be found to have taken place since Governor Reid's departure; but to him it is, nevertheless, universally attributed. The changes which he introduced were of a nature to bear more fruit ultimately than immediately,—agricultural progress being an affair of years not days.

The expenses of the Local Government, including the Civil List are always under 16,000*l.* sterling a year. Of this the Home Government pays about 4500*l.* The revenue raised in the colony was last year, 11,692*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*, of which little more than 10,000*l.* was actually expended, as the colony does not, of course, contribute in any way to the expenses of the dockyard, the fortifications, or the convict establishment.

The details of the annual expense of Bermuda to England it is not in the power of the author to give here, with any minute accuracy; but he, nevertheless, can present the reader with what he believes to be a fair idea of its probable amount, — quite sufficiently accurate for the purposes of argument:

Probable annual cost of the Dockyard and Naval					
Hospital, including repairs, pay of officers and men					
— average cost of new works, &c.				-	-£110,000
Annual Commissariat disbursements, including ex-					
penses of Convict Establishment, and part of Ber-					
mudian Civil List, &c., at least					
				-	-
				-	- 100,000
Total probable annual amount paid by Great					
Britain					
-	-	-	-	-	£210,000

Thus, the English Government expends in Bermuda twenty times as much as the colony itself disburses, to the great profit and advantage of the natives of all classes and both colours.

The following articles are at present produced—many of them abundantly—from the Bermudian soil: arrowroot, oats, Indian corn,* Irish potatoes, onions, tomatoes, turnips, sweet potatoes, carrots, cabbages, cauliflowers, peas, beans, cucumbers, lettuces, radishes, squashes, beet-root, &c. &c. Amongst the fruits are melons and oranges. The latter do not flourish much at any time, and last year they were destroyed by a blight after a single proprietor had advertised 20,000 of them for sale. Grapes are scarce; but occasionally, in particular soils, very good.

* Indian corn raised in Bermuda is said to be superior to that produced in the United States.

The West Indian fruits do not appear to thrive well in Bermuda. The bananas at the latter are seldom worth eating. The pomegranate, however, especially if mixed with iced water, is delicious in hot weather. The green fig also is excellent.

The sugar cane grows well in the neighbourhood of the marshes; but want of capital and labour has prevented its cultivation to any considerable extent. It was never an article of export. The same remark applies to coffee; which is sometimes grown in small quantities as a curiosity, or for private consumption.*

The Bermudian soil, or rather climate, is very favourable to vegetable growth. Three crops may be seen growing at once in the same field; for instance, potatoes, and between the rows Indian corn, and here and there pumpkins. Of vegetables, generally two crops can be raised in the same year; but of potatoes even three crops can be obtained within the same period.

* "The General Gazeteer" (accumulating as many errors as sentences) tells us that "some sugar and coffee is cultivated in Bermuda *for exportation*." It informs us that the country is "*much* subject to *hurricanes* and *tornadoes*." It adds that *St. George's* is "the *principal island*," and (wholly ignoring Hamilton) implies that the town of *St. George's* is the capital of the islands.

Corn was once an article of export; but that was during the existence of slavery. Wheat grows well, and barley admirably. The growth of a certain quantity of corn was once imperative, but the dearness of labour in Bermuda, and the cheapness of American corn, have checked its production in the islands.

To make up for the want of labourers, the Bermudians would willingly employ convicts. I do not mean discharged criminals, but convicts under punishment. And this idea is worth consideration at present, when so much difficulty attends the question, What are we to do with our criminals?*

A great increase of convicts would necessitate the presence of an additional regiment; but that is already required to carry on properly the duties of the garrison. That regiment might be taken from the West Indies, to the great gain in health and efficiency of our soldiers.

The four principle articles of export are arrow-root, potatoes, onions, and tomatoes. The arrow-

* The convicts at present in Bermuda, are not sufficient for the Dockyard works, and those of Boaz Island. Useful employment could be found, for many years at least, for several more thousands of convicts, if necessary.

root has for some time been famous as the best in the world: 147,636 lbs. of it were exported in 1855. But it appears to have fallen off a little, for in 1852, 233,145 lbs. were exported. Potatoes (Irish), of which 23,830 lbs. were exported in 1855, have increased wonderfully in a very short time. A most respectable and intelligent gentleman assured the author that he could recollect the time when a few barrels of potatoes and 500 lbs. of arrowroot were talked of as a great crop for an estate.

812,830 lbs. of onions (also a great increase on 1852) and 7715 boxes of tomatoes, were in the list of exports for 1855.*

It must not, however, be supposed that the colony will continue to progress for the future at the rate it has done latterly. Some of the best judges are of opinion that all the land worth anything is already under cultivation. The exports, therefore, are not likely to increase much more.

* In 1725, Bishop Berkeley described the trade of the islands as limited to "butter, onions, cabbages, and other roots and vegetables, which they have in great plenty and perfection." These they sent to the West Indian Islands; whilst to England they sent only "some articles of cedar, and palmetto leaves."

Moreover, if the future can be predicted from the past, no great increase of population can ever be expected. It averaged about 8000 souls for nearly the whole of the eighteenth century. In 1780, indeed, it rose, according to Williams, to 15,000; a statement that requires confirmation.

In 1826, at all events, the population amounted only to 8451 souls. Purser Cotter, in the twenty pages which he published in 1828, estimated the then population at 10,000; but it is probable that he merely guessed at the amount, as it is not likely that it had increased so greatly in two years' time. At all events, eight years later, in 1836, it amounted to 8062, and at that time the coloured population had already slightly exceeded the whites. In 1841 the numbers were 8624: in 1843, 9930: and at the last census, 1851, they had risen to 11,092. At the present moment (1857) the numbers are supposed to be about 12,000 exclusive of the military and the convicts. This comparatively rapid increase, after so long a stationary period, was due to the measures of Governor Reid, who, by increasing the exports of the colony, multiplied the means of employment, and consequently lessened the necessity of emigration. At present the coloured form nearly two-

thirds of the population; and the females, both white and coloured, have for a long time past exceeded the males in numbers. The latter circumstance resulted from the practice of intelligent youths going abroad to seek their fortunes.

The shipping statistics will be found in the Appendix.* Amongst the vessels built at Bermuda in 1855 were two very fine barques, the "Pearl" and the "Koh-i-noor;" the former, of 300 tons, of most graceful appearance and build, is deservedly the pride of Bermuda, which the "Sir George Seymour" had hitherto been. Its first voyage was to the United States; on its return from which, it raced with and beat a famous Yankee clipper, arriving at Bermuda a few hours earlier. Its second voyage was to England, with a freight of returning convicts. It performed the voyage in from fifteen to sixteen days,—a wonderfully quick passage for a small sailing vessel.†

* Vide Appendix C.

† The Bermudians *are excellent ship-wrights* and sailors, and have a great number of very good sloops."—*Bishop Berkeley*.

The words which I have put in italics, are now as applicable as ever to the colony. Cedar, moreover, if less durable than oak, is certainly far lighter, and ensures greater speed.

Bermuda is ruled by a Governor, a Council, and a House of Assembly.

The Governor has not much power beyond a veto, which is very seldom exercised. He has scarcely any patronage. But his moral influence, as was proved in the case of Governor Reid, may nevertheless be very great.

The Council, which acts in two distinct capacities, legislative and executive (in the latter case under the presidency of the Governor), is limited to twelve members. When the number is reduced to seven, the Governor fills up the vacancies, pending the approval of the Home Government.

The House of Assembly consists of thirty-six members ; four being returned for each of the nine parishes. The qualification of a member is 240*l.* real estate ; that of an elector is 60*l.* It used to be 30*l.* ; but was doubled in 1834, to prevent a too sudden acquisition of power by the coloured population at their emancipation. This is the only change which has taken place for a century and a half in the constitution of Bermuda ; and it certainly was no *reform* in the ordinary sense of the word.

No person can be returned for any parish in which he has not the legal amount of real estate.

Some thinly inhabited parishes, therefore, have a very limited choice of representatives.

Smith's parish, which, by the last census*, has a population of only 514 souls (generally poor people), returns the same number of members as Pembroke, which has a population of 2235. The towns of St. George and Hamilton, numbering 1891 and 1094 inhabitants respectively, have yet greater cause to complain: for the bulk of the wealth and intelligence of the colony are enclosed within their limits.

The members, both of the Council and of the Assembly, are paid two dollars a day, for the days on which they sit; even if they meet solely to adjourn immediately.†

* There has been no census since 1851. Another was announced, as to be taken last autumn (1856), but was deferred, owing to the political dissensions which resulted from the last general election, and which were very suggestive of a storm in a hand-basin!

† The absurd system, which necessitates in the candidate a property qualification in the parish for which he stands, and which also gives to the poorest and least populous parishes four members each, like the rest, — must, of course, occasionally produce queer legislators.

A story was told to the author of a member who was a carpenter, and who (not being willing to give up much time to his country, even for two dollars a day) carried on his work close

Some Bermudians defend their thirty-six members (in spite of the expense they entail) with the argument, that the larger the representation, the better is the country represented. If such be the case, in comparison with Bermuda, with its one member to about every 330 souls, Great Britain is indeed poorly represented, with only about one member to every 40,000 souls. Barbadoes, too, with only twenty-four *unpaid* Members of Assembly to a population of nearly 100,000, should envy Bermuda its thirty-six *paid* members to a population of less than 12,000, not more than 800 of whom are electors.

Even the republic of the United States fixed, in 1832, by law, the proportion of Representatives to the Federal House of Assembly only at 1 to 48,000.

The Bermudian Parliament is septennial. A general election took place in the spring of last year (1856). Forty days are allowed for making the returns, though, even in Bermuda, elections are rarely prolonged to such an absurd extent. On the occasion in question, the writs were issued

to the House of Assembly, popping into the latter when divisions took place, in time to give his vote, and thus secure his legislative pay.

on the 5th of March, and the elections were not all closed till the 3rd of April. In seven parishes out of nine, there were contests. In these, the first poll was held about a week after the writs had been issued. After a few votes had been taken (from those who did not keep back their "sweet voices" on speculation), proceedings were adjourned to some other day; often in the following week. In most cases there were three such adjournments, extending the contest to nearly four weeks. Yet the highest number of votes polled by any one of the thirty-six members elected was only eighty-nine. The next highest number was fifty-nine. And this, though every elector has four votes in every parish in which he possesses the qualification.

For the fourth member of one parish, there was, at the last election, a double return. A fresh election, therefore, became necessary. On the fourteenth day after the commencement of the second election, as no more voters presented themselves, the return was made out in the usual manner by the returning officer. But two seamen, who were voters, chanced to land that very morning too late to reach the poll. They declared that they would have voted for the defeated candidate,

who, having lost his seat by only one vote, would thus have been elected. The House of Assembly, on petition, decided that the poll of the second election ought to have been kept open, for the chance of fresh arrivals, for the whole of the forty days, if required by either of the candidates. They decided, in the next place, that the votes of the two seamen should be reckoned on the poll. Finally, they declared that the defeated candidate was duly elected.

It appears that an old English law of 1709, modified for the worse, still holds good in Bermuda, although in the mother country it has long been only a matter of history.* But even that law does not justify the vote of the House of Assembly, for one paragraph of it concludes with these words: "It is the intention of this Act, that when a reasonable time shall be afforded to every qualified freeholder, *in these Islands*, to attend for the purpose of giving his vote in case he should see fit, the poll shall finally be closed, and no longer kept open on any account, score, or pretext whatever."

If the Act had intended that the poll was to be

* The Mudians apparently value laws—as some people do wine—more from their age than their merits.

kept open for forty days, on the chance of the return of one or two seamen more to vote, would not its framers have inserted some clear clause to that effect? But surely it is much better that half a dozen or even a dozen seafaring men should lose their votes than that colonial elections should be liable to be prolonged for six weeks? The Governor put a stop to the proceedings of the Assembly by proroguing the Legislature, and referring the matter in dispute to the Secretary of State in England. From the period that subsequently elapsed without any reply from the Home Government, there can be no doubt that the matter has been turned over to the law officers of the Crown for their opinion, before any decisive answer is returned. It will be a sad thing for the real interest of the colony, if that decision should confirm the vote of the majority of the House of Assembly.*

The way in which the legislative business is done, is just what might be expected from the nature of the election and composition of the House of Assembly. In 1855, the Legislature (which was dissolved last year) sat from the

* Vide Appendix Z.

22nd of May to the 30th of October, with the exception of occasional short adjournments. During that session fourteen Acts were passed, which need not have occupied more than fourteen days. It appears that three only of the Acts could be considered as entirely new. Two or three others were old laws very slightly altered. The rest were in fact permanent Acts, called temporary for a too obvious purpose.* When the Council is full, the pay of the members of both branches of the legislature, when sitting, amounts to ninety-six dollars a day. This is no slight expense in a colony, the revenue raised in which is under 12,000*l.* a year.

As for nine-tenths of the Acts passed for many years in Bermuda, they ought, in candour, to be entitled, "Acts to continue Acts to pass the time, and to prolong the allowance of two dollars a day to members of both houses of the colonial parliament."

Most of the said Acts are in fact permanent; and common sense and common honesty demand that they should be made permanent till it is found necessary to repeal them.

* Vide Appendix D for the said fourteen Acts.

In Bermuda, the Conservatives are for, and the Liberals against, parliamentary reform, because the former hope to gain, and the latter fear to lose, by a reasonable reform of worn-out institutions.

The liberal party caused a bill to pass through the House of Assembly to encourage immigration; one of the most useful measures ever projected in Bermuda. It was, however, rejected by the Council, chiefly to please the coloured population; for the pretended fear that immigration would not answer, has been fully disproved in the West Indies, and Mr. Labouchere has stated in Parliament that “the real cause of the late disturbances at Demerara, was a jealousy entertained by the lower orders of the coloured population towards the Portuguese immigrants, who, *through great industry, had gained a large portion of the trade of the district.*”

Nevertheless, the selfish opposition of the liberal party to all legislative reform, renders it difficult to regret (what it is impossible to deny) that nearly all the good things in Bermuda are exclusively in the hands of a few families of conservative principles.

The value of Bermuda, in reference to North

and Central America, and to our position and influence in the Western Hemisphere ought to be sufficient to interest the mother country in the proper government of the colony.

Most of its governors have in vain desired to reform the Legislature. Sir William Reid, it is known, considered such a reform desirable.

His successor, Admiral Elliott, a man of undoubted ability (whatever may be thought of his decision), recorded his opinion very frankly in the following sentence, addressed to the Colonial Parliament in 1849:—"This slow and costly transaction of the simple affairs of a very small community, is no doubt attributable to the cumbrous inaptitude of the legislative machinery."

CHAP. V.

PURITAN FOUNDERS.—INTOLERANCE.—EDUCATION.—CONSECRA-
TION OF TRINITY CHURCH BY BISHOP FIELD.—WESLEYAN
ZEAL AND MANAGEMENT.—FASHIONABLE RELIGION.—LAWS;
SCHOOLS; YOUNG LADIES' COLLEGE.—PEDANTIC PUFFS.—
LOCAL PRESS.—ORIGINAL LITERATURE.—EMIGRATION OF
TALENT.—SOCIETY.—THE LADIES.—RIVAL ISLANDS.—THE
CRONSTADT OF SPINSTERDOM.—MUDIAN MARRIAGES.—DANCING
UNDER DIFFICULTIES, AND WITH NOVEL ECONOMY.—ANIMATED
VEGETATION.

THE English founders of the colony were strict Puritans. Their preachers were troublesome and turbulent men, who preferred the exploded law of the Old Testament to the milder graces of the New Dispensation. In time, however, the population became stout defenders of the Church of England: and although the Established Church of Scotland appears always to have been tolerated, very hard measure was, for a long time, the rule towards the other classes of dissenters. A Methodist preacher was fined and imprisoned in 1800, for preaching to the negroes. The Assembly, to meet his case, had passed a bill, subjecting to a

fine of fifty pounds, and to six months' imprisonment, any person not of the Church of England, or Scotland, who should preach, or perform any religious ceremony.*

But while dissent was thus persecuted, religion itself was almost wholly neglected. There was, then, only one clergyman to eight parishes; and service was performed in each parish only once in three weeks. †

During the existence of slavery, masters naturally discouraged general education. Before the emancipation, however, Archdeacon Spenser (afterwards Bishop) did his best to establish good schools, with some degree of success. But since 1834, education has become so general, that few even of the coloured population have not been taught to read and write. As far as relates to the Established Church, this change for the better has been greatly assisted by the instrumentality of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The Wesleyans, however, have shown at least as much zeal as the Church of England, in advancing education and religion. But much remains yet to be done, as will hereafter appear.

* Williams's Bermuda.

† Ibid.

Since Bermuda has been included in the diocese of Newfoundland, it is favoured, once in four years, by an episcopal visit of several months. The indefatigable and zealous Bishop Field visited the Somers' Islands the year before last (1855) in his celebrated "*Church-ship*."

Whilst there, the Bishop consecrated at Hamilton the new Trinity Church, which had been built chiefly by his own persevering exertions: he having for a time imparted a portion of his energy to Bermudian languor and indifference. The ceremony was performed in the presence of the Governor, the Admiral, the Commandant, and a crowd of Episcopalians of all ranks and both colours. The church was elegantly decorated by the young ladies of Hamilton, who also formed the choir. Ordinations and confirmations followed. Many thought that the cause of Episcopacy had made a great advance in the Island. But the "*Church-ship*" had scarcely departed, before the Colonial Assembly voted — for the first time in the history of Bermuda — a respectable stipend to the Presbyterian minister of Hamilton. It was evident that the bishop's high church principles — which had been viewed with regret by many sincere Episcopalians — had not increased the

popularity of the Establishment. The Wesleyans are making considerable progress. They, like most dissenters, are more zealous, generally, than churchmen. Their zeal indeed, is exemplary. They go from house to house, begging for assistance to their missions; importuning members of the Church of England as earnestly as those of their own sect. They set up for a liberality in religious principles, to which they have no just claim; as they are never known either to set, or to follow, the example of subscribing for the benefit of any other sect than their own.

The lower orders of whites number many dissenters. But the coloured population like to be in the fashion. The great majority of them are still Episcopalians, though the Wesleyans are increasing.* This fact inclines the clergy to look as leniently as they can upon their numerous failings. They attend the Sacrament in far greater numbers than do the whites of the same class; and there is

* In 1851, the census gave —

Church of England	-	-	-	-	9332
Presbyterians	-	-	-	-	519
Wesleyans	-	-	-	-	1018
Roman Catholics	-	-	-	-	109
Other denominations	-	-	-	-	113

too much reason to fear that *fashion* is also concerned in this difference.*

The fact is that the style of preaching in Bermuda, though there are several excellent clergymen there, is not, generally speaking, well adapted to the moral state of the lower orders. Honest Thomas Fuller, in his maxims for good clergymen, says (No. 8.), "He chiefly reproveth the reigning sins of the time and place he lives in." If Fuller were now living, and in the Somers Islands, he would preach in favour of chastity to the coloured, of sobriety to the white population, and of honesty to both. He would not waste his time in wholly unsuitable refinements and doctrinal niceties.

* When the 56th Regiment, which left three years ago, was quartered in Bermuda, one of the officers' ladies had a severe fall whilst out riding. She was carried into a cottage, and given a glass of water by its coloured inmates. She soon found that a valuable bracelet was missing from her wrist, which no doubt occurred by the shock of her fall. As she fell close to the house on the road, she begged the people of the house to find it for her, and went home. She was, however, sent word that it could not be found. Some time afterwards, on a Sunday, whilst staying for the Sacrament at church, the lady saw a coloured woman going up to the altar with her bracelet on. A policeman went after church to the woman's house, but the bracelet was never found and all knowledge of it stoutly denied.

The law is at present very respectably represented in Bermuda. It has not however entirely escaped the effects of that slothful inaction so long characteristic of the Somer's Islands.* It was not, for instance, until last year (1856), that a bill was passed by the legislature, enabling persons indicted for felony to make their defence by counsel or attorney. Moreover, complaints, but too well founded, have long been made, that the good things of the legal profession are almost monopolised by a clique composed of a few families.

There are, at present, sixteen public and twenty-two private schools in the islands. Besides these, a college for young ladies, to be built by a body of shareholders, was decided on ; but the project fell to the ground for want of money. Education appears to be at a very low ebb. It is true, indeed, that an English stranger, after perusing the puffs that occasionally appear in the local press, would imagine Bermuda to be a complete modern Athens. Last year, a gentleman alluded in the papers

* In England, says De Tocqueville, "laws are esteemed not so much because they are good, as because they are old." But old laws which have been long extinct even in England are still fondly cherished in Bermuda.

to a school which he had built in the following *modest* terms:—"It stands as a monumental demonstration of my devotion to the cause of education and just conception of the comfort and accommodation which teachers and pupils should enjoy in the discharge of their respective duties." He also gave his readers an extract from a letter, written to him from America, by one of his former pupils, in which were these words:—"I hope I shall always be grateful, and in a like spirit which actuated you, endeavour, in a more humble degree, *to emulate your virtues.*"

One of the last sentences of the schoolmaster's letter was somewhat surprising, as coming from such a self-proclaimed master of rhetoric and grammar. "Since my return," he writes, "I have mentioned to my friends, that much more lucrative and eligible openings were presented in America, and *were* all circumstances favourable, it *may* be deemed advisable ultimately to seek a wider and more productive field."

The Bermudians were so charmed with this epistle (of which I have quoted only two fragments) that they soon after gave its author practical proofs of their admiration. In one point

of view, it certainly deserves to be called *Ciceronian*,—I mean in the style and sentiment of,

“O fortunatam natam me consule Romam !”

There are four weekly newspapers published in Bermuda, two of which have a very general circulation. As the English mails only arrive once a month, these local papers, by culling the news, save many the trouble of wading through piles of old English journals, and save more—the expense of buying them.*

On an average, news reaches Bermuda, by vessels from America, about once in ten days. Thus, the local press is seldom thrown entirely upon its own resources. But when this misfortune does occur, the papers are reduced sometimes to admit contributions from native poets and philosophers. The former of these are truly formidable. A butcher's babe cannot die, nor a whaler's wife take her final departure, but straightway the little public is called upon to sympathise with paternal and marital woes. “Stanzas to departed Susan” —“Odes to sweet cherubs,” &c. &c., crowd the

* “The Royal Gazette” is published by Mr. Lee, a gentleman who bears a high character. “The Bermudian” is edited by a colonial Member of Parliament, of considerable ability. Both papers are creditable to the little colony.

columns, sometimes in passable verse, but oftener in execrable doggrel. There is also the usual degree of truth that characterises such effusions of paraded sorrow. On one of these occasions, where the lamented fair one had been painted as a perfect paragon of virtue, the author was induced to inquire how she had come to her so deeply lamented end. The answer was, that the worthy lady had, whilst under the influence of new rum, been kicked to death by a donkey!

The absence of education is felt all the more from the fact, that so many clever Bermudian youths, of all classes, emigrate to America. There they seek that field for their talents which is denied to them in the narrow limits and torpid atmosphere of their native land. Many of these emigrants not only secure independence for themselves, but are even enabled to contribute to the support of the aged and female relatives whom they have left behind them.*

This emigration causes a great preponderance of the fair sex. It also makes single blessedness the far too general lot of the ladies, and deprives the

* In an imperial point of view such a close connexion between Bermuda and the United States is far from being desirable; for very obvious reasons.

local society of its most promising and agreeable members.

The islands cannot boast of much social intercourse or hospitality. Many of the natives themselves complain of the exclusiveness of the upper classes ; which, however, is far less marked than is usual in most Anglo-Saxon communities. Bermuda, nevertheless, has always been

“ A listless climate made, where sooth to say,
No living wight could work ne cared e'en for play.”

The Governor, the Admiral, the army, and the navy perform, almost exclusively, the Amphitryonic parts in the Somers' Islands. The naval officers especially shine in this respect ; for they generally send boats to fetch their fair company, and thus save them both trouble and expense.

The great difficulty in the colony is where to draw the social line. Except professional persons, all the best families, with scarcely an exception, are employed in retail trade, of a kind that, in the mother country, is considered somewhat incompatible with the social position of a gentleman. Even the lawyers and the clergy have, for the most part, relatives who keep, or are subordinates in retail stores. Members of Council, and other

public functionaries, enjoying the title and precedence of *Honourables*, are daily employed, some as auctioneers, and others in selling all sorts of useful, but not always very dignified articles. Yet to confound these gentlemen with petty English traders, on account of similarity of occupation, would be both illiberal and unjust. For it cannot be denied that many stores in Bermuda are kept by persons of good education and respectable birth. From the still existing scarcity of goods of all kinds, it can easily be imagined how difficult it formerly was to procure articles of the first necessity,—the most ordinary comforts of civilised life. No wonder, then, that in such a state of things, the setting up of a new store was considered not merely as a profitable speculation, but also as a most praiseworthy and patriotic act. The first families of the colony, by either embracing trade themselves, or embarking their children in it, have raised such pursuits beyond the reach of those prejudices that in England degrade in the social scale all similar occupations.

Nevertheless, in such a state of society, as above described, there must be a difficulty in drawing any accurate line. The general occupations, if they do not degrade, yet certainly do not ennoble

those who pursue them. Some keepers of stores, therefore, have as little pretension to the manners or conduct of gentlemen as most petty tradesmen in other parts of the world. Perhaps these circumstances (coupled with the general poverty and the scarcity of means of locomotion) prevent that easy flow of social intercourse which might do much to remove the dulness that oppresses the whole colony.

The college, lately planned, for the education of young ladies, deserved a better fate than it met with. In external beauty and grace, the fair Mudians are by no means deficient. Their minds however, it is to be feared, are often very uncultivated. The narrow limits of their country are not likely to furnish that experience which in clever dispositions will sometimes compensate for the absence of book learning. Trifling habits, contemptible prejudices, and love of gossip almost inevitably rush in to occupy the mental vacuum.

In the small Bermudas, it might be supposed that, from sheer necessity, society would banish from its precincts all imaginary grounds of petty dissensions. But it is not so. The ladies of Hamilton and of St. George's are mutually jealous

of each other. Those of Somerset and Hamilton are still more antagonistic.

At an afternoon dancing party, on board of H. M. S. * * * * *, at Grassy Bay, there was, last year, a fair muster of ladies from Hamilton and Somerset,—brought there and taken back in the ship's boats. The ladies of Hamilton, having a greater distance to return, left first. A naval officer then asked a young Somerset lady to dance with him. She indignantly replied: "No, I sha'n't! now that the Hamilton ladies are gone, you ask me!" The poor naval officer, who was probably quite unaware of the existence of such local animosities, was taken quite aback, and hauled off in another direction.

Somerset sees less of the world than do the other principal islands. It is out of the general beat; though it boasts of some of the prettiest scenery. It is said to be a conservatory of maids, old and young—the very Cronstadt of Spinsterdom.

It has been already mentioned, that the smartest youths emigrate to America. The natural consequence is a dearth of husbands. The naval and military gentlemen occasionally supply the deficiency; and thus a handsome

wedding breakfast is not the very rare circumstance it would otherwise become. These marriages, however, do not generally please the husbands' friends in England. Mudian heiresses are almost entirely extinct. *The girl of a thousand cedars* is "the light of other days," which will probably never return. There is therefore nothing in these marriages to propitiate the absent parents of the bridegrooms. Occasionally there is the excuse of a pretty face, and a graceful skill in waltzing, charms which set youth on fire, but at the mention of which (as a bride's dowry without further adjuncts) the calm old couple at the English fireside turn up their eyes and noses with horror and dismay.*

Many of the fair Mudians, however, are really calculated to make excellent wives for poor men. They are accustomed to few luxuries, and have the talent to make much out of little. To the balls and parties they generally either go free

* Nevertheless, to the Mudian ladies, what Bishop Berkeley said 150 years ago of Bermudian society generally, is still applicable:—"But if they have less wealth, they have withal less vice and expensive folly than their neighbours." Indeed scandal amongst the upper classes is an unheard of thing; but it is a pity that they use so little influence to have their excellent examples followed by their inferiors.

of expense in boats, or they walk to them. Two young ladies were said last year to have walked from St. George's to a garrison ball at Hamilton, a distance of twelve miles, papa carrying the ball dresses in a carpet bag. This made a good story, but the real fact was that the party walked to the St. George's ferry (a distance of three miles), where they were met by a friend's carriage.

The ball dresses of some of the young ladies bespeak also most laudable economy, being made of their mosquito nets, which they starch and iron, and on their return home restore to the beds they were taken from.*

But there are many Bermudians who go nowhere, and see nothing, and who may be rather said to vegetate than to live like other mortals. There is an old lady in Hamilton who is now nearly eighty years of age, and who in the course of her long life has never travelled as far as St. George's. Many other ladies have *enjoyed* an existence scarcely less restricted. To them Bermuda

* As may easily be supposed, Mrs. Craft, the great milliner of Hamilton, "not to know whom *in Bermuda* argues oneself unknown," by no means approves of this patent economical bed and ball-room apparatus.

is a needlessly large country, a waste of wide and useless dimensions—a limitless expanse!

“They are a very primitive people,” is the phrase by which those who are desirous of praising these living vegetables escape from the difficulty of the undertaking.

CHAP. VI.

BERMUDIAN SAIL-BOATS. — A YANKEE SKIPPER ASTONISHED IN ONE. — HIS IDEAS OF BRITISH OFFICERS. — ROYAL BERMUDA YACHT CLUB. — REGATTA RACES. — BALL. — WAR *VERSUS* DANCING AND SMOKING. — THE COMMODORE OF THE CLUB. — HAIL-STORMS. — PEPPER-POT AND PEPPER ^h PUNCH. — LIVING IN BERMUDA NOT ALDERMANIC. — ICE. — ANTS. — THE AUTHOR'S IN-DOOR TENTS. — TANK. — A SERIOUS TRUTH CONVEYED IN AN INDIFFERENT PUN.

If the geography of the Islands be observed, and the scarcity of horses duly considered, the almost actual necessity of yachting must be evident, even to those who naturally dislike or dread the unstable element. Moreover, in the oppressive summer months an afternoon's sail is the only chance of enjoying a refreshing breeze after the heat of the day.

The Bermudian sail-boats still retain their primitive one-mast build. They usually range from thirteen to twenty-five feet in length, and draw from four to seven and a half feet of water. They carry a mainsail, jib, gaff-topsail, and square-sail. The mast is from forty to fifty feet in

height, and the deck is flush. These two circumstances cause the boats to be very wet in rough weather. They have, however, great advantages, the principal of which are, that they go very near the wind, and beat admirably.

The coloured natives and even some of the white ones, are confident of the superiority of their boats over those of England, but I do not believe that any of the former could ride out half a gale in the British Channel. They are, however, well suited to the Bermudian waters, where, within the Great Reef, the waves never run *mountains high* as in the open sea. But even in smooth water the boats appear at first very dangerous to strangers, not excepting officers of the Royal Navy or of the merchant service. The regular pilot boats, manned by experienced crews, venture out in the open sea in all but the very roughest weather. Owing to the prudence of the pilots generally, serious accidents are of very rare occurrence. Nevertheless, even within the reefs, it is very often too rough, especially in winter, for the smaller boats to sail with safety. The passage from St. George's to Ireland Isle is usually the roughest, from the great prevalence of the southwest wind. But when the wind blows hard from

the north-east, it is equally difficult to get from Ireland to St. George's. Courts-martial are frequently deferred owing to tempestuous weather.

The harbours of Hamilton and St. George's, however, are always safe during the fiercest gales, with moderate care. On a fine day with a good breeze nothing is more delightful than a sail in one of these boats. In the pleasure yachts, the owner generally steers, whilst two coloured men work the sails. One of these must be able to pilot the boat securely through the endless rocks and shoals. It must take many years to make a safe pilot. But though the officers' boats are constantly striking or grounding, fatal accidents are exceedingly rare.* But I met with an amusing example of the fear which these boats inspire even in *nautical* strangers on a first experience of their peculiar qualities.

As I was starting one day from Ireland Island to Hamilton, a Yankee skipper requested, and was given, a passage. It was blowing a fresh breeze, nothing more. Before the boat had got out of the camber (or enclosed breakwater) a

* The boats, with rare exceptions (and those only for short safe passages), are used only in daylight or moonlight — not in the dark.

puff of wind caused it to lean over for a moment. Although the worthy skipper had just undergone the ordeal of a very rough passage from America, he almost lost his head with fright. He gave a positive shout of terror as he abandoned his seat on the hatchway. He was answered by a shout of laughter from two young fellow passengers of the army and marines. But Jonathan recovered himself, and exclaimed, "I'm no coward, but I don't like risks!"

It was very difficult to persuade the Yankee that there really was no danger of the boat's not reaching its destination. In vain was he told that if there *were* danger, no one would like it less than his host. He would not be comforted. Unfortunately, just as we had passed through the One-Rock passage into the smooth harbour of Hamilton, a very violent squall suddenly arose. We certainly flew through the water; but it was before the wind, dry and speedily. Nothing could be more delightful to the habituated. But the Yankee, driven below by the rain, and agitated by fears, vowed that "this was his first, and should certainly be his last, sail in a Bermuda boat."

In one of the intervals of his terrors, he came up to the owner, and asked, "What is the fare?"

I am ready to pay you your fare." He was answered: "I am not allowed to receive payment. I am in a service where I pay for everything including my commissions, but must take nothing. My pay is scarcely more than the interest of my money." Out of fun, this was all said to him very gravely, as if his interlocutor sincerely regretted not being able to pocket his money. The Yankee knew very well that the whole party were British officers, as he heard the title of one of them repeatedly used by the others. But he evidently did not know the difference between English and American officers. In the United States persons styled majors, colonels, or even generals, keep stores, public houses, &c., and make money — like their civilian brethren — when, how, and where they can.* The skipper, therefore, could not credit the sincerity of the refusal he received, especially as no offence was taken at the offer. At all events, he evidently thought that if there were no witnesses, his new friend would take

* "I know of no country, indeed, where the love of money has taken stronger hold on the affections of men."—*De Tocqueville's Democracy in America*. How can reasonable men in Europe admire a young nation which is the slave of the vice of old age — avarice?

money fast enough. Therefore, when the other officers stepped out of the boat at Hamilton, he came aft, and again pressed the amateur skipper to accept the fare.

At parting, the Yankee declared that he would return in the same boat to Ireland Isle next morning. He was promised a welcome; but, in spite of the attraction of a free passage, he never made his appearance. It was too soon for him to venture again into a Bermudian yacht.

In order partly to give an impetus to boat building, but chiefly, I believe, to promote union and good fellowship, the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club was instituted on the 1st of November, 1844. Samuel Triscott, Esq., an Englishman of Bermudian celebrity, was the chief promoter of the scheme. The first meeting of the club was held under the famous calabash tree where the author of "Lalla Rookh" was wont to seek a shady repose. One of the officers of the garrison at that period chanced to be a lord; he was also a zealous yachtsman. His interest obtained the patronage of Prince Albert, and the consequent sanction of Her Majesty for the assumption by the club of the epithet "Royal." His lordship was elected the first commodore, with a lieutenant of the navy as

vice commodore. For a few years the club flourished wonderfully. But the departure of Mr. Triscott was, it appears, a severe blow to its activity. Although the annual subscription has always been very moderate, yet each pay day was for some time marked by a secession of civilians. At last, in 1855, the name only of two Bermudians remained on the list; and even these were merely nominal members. It is at present, in fact, an army and navy aquatic club. Besides Prince Albert as patron, the vice-patrons are the present Governor (who is a liberal contributor and supporter), the Earl of Dundonald, and Admiral Elliott. The army members being more permanent residents, and being partly attracted by novelty, take to yachting more enthusiastically than do their brethren of the navy. Thus, in the races, the sons of Neptune are generally eclipsed by those who may fairly be called his step-sons.

There were two yacht races last year, besides many private matches. The first regatta occurred on the third of April, 1856. The wind was moderate from the south-east. The course was to the south of the Great Sound, from Port Island to Somerset and back. This race was open to all sailing boats. Most of the Yacht Club boats were

entered, but the race was won by some coloured pilots. A lunch at Ireland Island, with the beautiful band of the Cameronians, contributed to the gaiety of the scene. The next evening there was a grand subscription ball at Hamilton, where there was a considerable display of native beauty and elegance. The naval and military officers were present in great numbers. Indeed, I may here remark, that there is no lack of dancing parties in Bermuda; so that young men in general have, on that score, little cause of complaint.

If the art of war is but indifferently studied in our army, it must be confessed that the art of dancing is carried to great perfection. In this respect English officers, at present, fully rival foreigners. The ancients were of opinion that "the gods had conferred fortitude upon some—and upon others a disposition for dancing." But, in modern times, these two qualities are by no means incompatible. Our officers, however, enjoy a third qualification (unknown to the ancients) highly valued by its possessors—the art of smoking. With a trifling variation, two lines of Keats accurately describe the life of a modern subaltern.

“He has never done
With his delights, for when tired out with fun,
He rests at ease, and *puffs* some pleasant weed.”*

A second yacht race took place on the 17th of May, 1856. This time the entry was restricted to boats belonging to the club. It was further regulated that every boat was to be steered by a member. Additional interest was thus lent to the scene. Eight boats started. One stake-boat, as the starting point, was near to Ireland Island; the other about three miles in the direction of, and near to, the entrance of Hamilton harbour. The course was altogether about nine miles; twice beating, and once with square-sails,—the south stake-boat being the winning post.

The victor was the “Alarm,” belonging to and

* Why should English officers be zealous or well instructed in their profession? since they can hope for everything with interest, and for nothing without it. The officers employed in the Crimea were either accidentally sent there with their regiments—or got out there on the staff by *interest*. This last class, indeed, carried off the bulk of the rewards, at the least personal sacrifice. With very few exceptions, there was not even a pretence of selecting merit for the vast number of staff appointments then made. *Interest*, in the first degree, accidents in the second, were the levers of military advancement; zeal, ability or knowledge were therefore superfluous qualifications.

steered by the Commodore of the Yacht Club. No one was better entitled to win the cup than the zealous and gallant commodore, who often went out in very stormy weather, and who could handle the ropes as well as guide the helm of his clipping little craft. Amongst the boats that started was the "Gem," owned and steered by Captain Seymour, R.N., son of Admiral Sir George Seymour. Being the smallest boat entered, it was allowed a great start. It was ably navigated also, but was too light and too deficient in depth of keel to effect anything. It has since been taken to England, with the intention of being placed in the Serpentine or some other suitable locality, but it is hardly a fair specimen of the speed of boats of its class.

To revert to the race: it is worthy of notice, that during the contest there fell two very violent hail-storms; a wonderful thing for May in Bermuda. On land, however, the hail appears to have fallen only as rain; probably melting as it approached the heated soil. But at sea it pelted the faces and ears of the amateurs; and finally gave them a good drenching. Nevertheless, in spite of the uncertain weather, the spectators might exclaim:—



W & WAGTON, LITH

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MOUNT LANGTON

M & N BALDWIN, INC.

“How the wide waters, far as we can see,
Are joyous with innumerable boats.”

The Governor, on that day, drove his four-in-hand all the way to Mangrove Bay and back. His boat was one of those entered, and he contributed largely to the cup, with his usual liberality.

I cannot dismiss this subject without adding a few words on the Club house. There, excellent luncheons and dinners were provided by the butler and factotum, Mr. Telford, a native of Demerara, famous for his pepper-pot and pepper punch; and also for his jovial laugh, which would have made his fortune on the comic boards, and was as irresistible as it is indescribable.

In England, to those persons who have an income sufficient for their wants, living is a pleasure; in Bermuda, it is a business. Meat is scarce and indifferent. Mutton and beef are 10*d.* a pound. Fish, however, is cheap. Even during the war, it did not rise above 3*d.* a pound. The best kind (next to turtle) are the angel, (equally pleasing to sight and taste,) the hog, the porquay, the mullet, and the anchovy. The last are especially excellent. The groupers, hamlets, pilchards, and breemes, are not so good,

and none can compare with the best fish of Great Britain. Turkeys, ducks, and poultry are plentiful, and moderate in price. Bermudian potatoes are already famous, and most English vegetables abound in the Islands. Preserved meats from Fortnum and Mason, however, are very useful as a reserve, on days when it is impossible to procure fresh meat of a tolerable kind.

Even when you have provided good things, it is not easy to get them well dressed. The male natives scorn the first of artistical trades, and the females make wretched bad cooks. A *bon vivant* would, in Bermuda, soon die of a broken heart, — and the stomach of a London alderman, in spite of the abundance of turtles, would speedily collapse under the fire of a Mudian *batterie de cuisine*.

The great luxury of ice from America, during the summer, is due mainly to the enterprise of the popular house of Gosling and Co. (the first merchants of Bermuda), who merit for their exertions the thanks of the whole community.*

* By means of ice, fresh butter is made excellent in the hottest weather. But the ice also confers far more important benefits. — Applied to the forehead, it will sometimes stave off and at all times mitigate fevers; and sore eyes, occasioned by the glare of the sea, or the white buildings, are greatly

The multitude of ants are, especially in summer, a source of great annoyance in nearly all houses. To place the feet of tables and safes in little tins of oil, is the only way to stop the attacks of these little animals on everything eatable or drinkable. Tea is cheap, but very indifferent ; it may with advantage be brought out from England. The three per cent. tax upon all imported articles is not sufficient to act at all as a prohibition.

Mosquito curtains are indispensable to beds, everywhere during eight months of the year ; and for all the year round, in some houses surrounded with trees, or near to large tanks. A rectangular oblong tent, covered with a green mosquito net, is a comfortable piece of furniture in a drawing room ; wherein to read and write undisturbed by the indefatigable tormentors of all hot climates.

The absence of rivers and springs is considered one of the greatest disadvantages of a residence in the Somers' Islands.* The few wells of brackish

relieved, as the author can testify, by the application of ice two or three times a day. Ophthalmia, however, except in poultry, is very rare in Bermuda.

* As rain water is, in the tropics, the most wholesome water a person can drink, and as few will drink it voluntarily, the absence of springs and rivers may be a real blessing to the

water to be found, are supplied by filtration from the sea. The *Naval wells* contain tolerably good water, but they are generally considered as a reserve, in case of drought. The inhabitants are supplied with rain water from tanks filled from the roofs of the whitewashed houses. Some families have two tanks attached to their houses, which enables them occasionally to clean one of them without inconvenience, and also to supply the wants of their poorer neighbours. In this respect, a good example has been set by the present benevolent Chief-Justice.

After a great deal of dry weather (a longer continuance of which might be attended with fearful calamities to the poor), it is no wonder that the old coloured women (who cannot pronounce their *H's*) should consider a violent fall of rain, generally, as a cause of "very great *tankfulness!*"

Mudians. Twenty years ago, the author voluntarily took to rain water during a two years' residence in Barbadoes, and to it and a stinted diet, ascribes the fact, that though he took a fever whilst a man was dying of yellow-fever in the same house, his own case was never more than a most ordinary illness.

CHAP. VII.

ON LIONS.

WALSINGHAM. — DINNER *VERSUS* SCENERY. — MOORE'S CALABASH-TREE. — MOORE IN BERMUDA. — THE OLD HEARSAY WRITERS ON BERMUDA. — THE WALLER FICTION-RING. — THE DEVIL'S HOLE. — HARRINGTON SOUND. — SAIL ROUND THE ISLANDS. — DANGEROUS NAVIGATION. — YANKEE TREACHERY AND AVARICE FOILED.

THE Walsingham caves, beneath that romantic-looking neck of land which separates Castle Harbour from Harrington Sound, were formerly the principal lions of the Somers' Islands. The grounds above the caves (which in picturesque beauty—of wood, water, richly clothed hills and valleys, cannot easily be surpassed) were, from time immemorial, the favourite spots for pic-nic parties.

But a great change has taken place in this respect. When, last year, two aristocratic naval captains had made a party to visit Walsingham they learned, that it was necessary to take the preliminary step of obtaining the owner's per-

mission. This was readily granted, clogged, nevertheless, with the condition, that nothing was to be eaten on the premises. The gallant captains indignantly declined to make use of the permission on such anti-prandial terms.

Although the scenery is so pretty, the caves themselves are not very extraordinary. They are decidedly inferior to those of Gibraltar, and scarcely repay the trouble of entering them, from the slimy and slippery nature of the ground.

The prohibition of pic-nics at this spot has met with more censure than it really deserves. The present proprietor was, naturally enough, wearied of finding the neighbourhood of his house strewn with the fragments of repasts, and his young coffee-trees (rarities in Bermuda) cut into walking-sticks by thoughtless young men of both branches of Her Majesty's service. Nevertheless, on application, permission to see the grounds is always readily given. But an Englishman is apt to associate all ideas of pleasure with a certain amount of eating and drinking. For —

“dies Geschlecht

Kann sich nicht anders freuen als bei Tisch.*”

* Schiller.

which may freely be rendered—as applied to John Bull—

No thoughts of joy his bosom enter
That do not round his dinner centre.

For many persons, the chief attraction of Walsingham is Moore's famous calabash-tree. Intrinsically, it is eclipsed by other trees of the same kind, in its neighbourhood; but it has been consecrated by poetical associations. We had the good fortune to visit it when the fruit was ripe, and were allowed to carry off two fine specimens, to be formed into drinking bowls. Moore's tree is beginning to decay; but "around the loved ruin," the memory of the sweetest of songsters "entwines itself verdantly still."

There (a mere youth, but a youth already known to fame) sat, under the wide-spreading branches, the Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Bermuda. It was war time (1803), and, during war, the office was a most lucrative one. With ordinary prudence, therefore, that youth might have made his fortune in a few years. The country, moreover, was by no means unsuited for prosecuting poetical pursuits, being situated far from the bustle of the gay world, and thinly

populated by a primitive people. But, alas! the gay world happened to be *all in all* to the little songster. His heaven was formed of Holland House, Bowood Park, and the dinners and balls of fashionable life. About three months of Bermuda was as much as could be endured by one who described himself as —

“Of loving fond, of roving fonder,”

He employed that time almost entirely in making love to a beautiful girl (whose granddaughter is now the belle of Bermuda), to whom he addressed a number of odes more remarkable for warmth of colouring than for any other quality.*

After Moore's departure, a Mr. Gooderich acted as his deputy. This gentleman purchased large estates for himself; but sent home nothing either to Moore or to the treasury. The crash came;

* Here is a specimen of Moore's delicate homage to the fair Mudian.

“Oh trust me, 'twas a place, an hour,
The worst that e'er the tempter's power
Could tangle me or you in;
Sweet Nea, let us roam no more
Along that wild and lonely shore,
Such walks may be our ruin.”

and the poet, who was responsible for his deputy, became a government debtor to a very great amount. Much reason had he to regret that sinecure jobs had not been abolished before his time.

It is the fashion to abuse Lord John Russell for allowing Moore to show himself exactly what he always wished to appear — the pet of aristocratic saloons and the favourite of fashionable society. But to give a Life of Moore, and at the same time to ignore his ruling passion, would be like producing “the Prince of Denmark” on the stage, leaving out the part of “Hamlet” by particular desire.

Moore has written but little of Bermuda. He found that it could not furnish materials for a regular history. As a fortress, it had no interest for him*; and it had not yet become an imperial prison. It is curious enough that none of the famous men, excepting Moore, who have written

* Yet Moore heard from “a distinguished friend at Washington,” that the United States had planned in the last war to attack Bermuda; with the intention — if they captured it — of “making it a nest of hornets for the annoyance of British trade in that part of the world.” According to one of Sam Slick’s late works the Americans still cherish the idea for a future opportunity.

on Bermuda ever set foot *in* Bermuda. Captain Smith, Waller, Andrew Marvel*, Bishop Berkeley, and lastly Sam Slick, — all have been eloquent in describing what they never saw, and some of them what never existed.

Moore indeed believed in the fiction of Waller's visit†; and wrote,

“May Spring to eternity hallow the shade,
Where Ariel has warbled, and Waller has stray'd.”

And the *straying* of Waller is certainly *as true* as the *warbling* of Ariel.

Since Moore's time, the Bermudians profess to have found Waller's ring — supposed to have been lost in a field. The ring was shown to me, at St. George's. It is a gold circle (which appears to have once contained hair) terminating in two hands clasping a heart. It is an ordinary and not very antique-looking ring. Inside of it are roughly scratched the words, “Whose hair I

* Vide Appendix F. Did Marvel copy from Waller, or *vice versa*?

† Moore chose to prefer the judgment of Burke to that of Dr. Johnson. But it may be doubted whether either of those great men knew enough of Bermuda to form a decided opinion on the subject.

wear, I loved dear." It is said (I know not how truly) that the ring displays the arms of the Otway family, and that Waller was connected with the latter. But I could not learn why the son of a Waller and of a Hampden should use the arms of the Otways.

My disbelief, however, of Waller's visit to Bermuda is founded on stronger reasons. First, we have his own complete silence on a matter of such importance to himself. In the next place, the poem itself, on which the erroneous supposition has been hastily formed, bears, in my opinion, strong internal evidence that Waller is describing what he has heard or read of, *not* what he has seen.*

The Devil's Hole has been already celebrated by Sam Slick, in a very humorous chapter. But he also, evidently, was never in Bermuda; for his account of that sight is not quite correct; and it appears to have been dragged into one of his works for the sake of the opportunity of striking a blow at Lord John Russell on the subject of Moore.

The Devil's Hole is a picturesque pond, full of

* Appendix G contains a brief analysis of Waller's poem.

clear salt water; to the level of which the spectator descends by a few steps, after paying his shilling to be admitted within the wall by which the pond is surrounded. The latter is situated at the south-west end of Harrington Sound; and is separated by little more than the breadth of the road from the sound itself, from which its waters are, by some persons, naturally supposed to be supplied. But although the open portion of the pond is not more than twenty or twenty-five feet in diameter, and six or seven fathoms in depth, yet the pond extends for a considerable distance under ground towards the sea, eastward, probably to the sea itself. In this case, the pond may have no communication with Harrington Sound, in spite of the proximity.

The Devil's Hole is one of many ponds in which are kept, for the winter's consumption, the surplus fish which the fishermen cannot profitably dispose of in summer. Towards the close of the latter season, the Devil's Hole usually contains about 1000 groupers; but at the close of winter 100 may not be found there. No other fish but groupers are ever placed in the Hole, for they would be devoured immediately. Yet Sam Slick, without any compunction, fills it with a great

variety of fish, for the sake of some facetious puns at the expense of the finny tribe.

The ravenous appetite of the groupers is a source of great amusement ; and the anecdotes of what they have swallowed, if repeated here, would scarcely be swallowed by the reader.

When we threw bread amongst them, they rushed on it *en masse*, in a manner that proved that they were not over-fed. They then raised themselves up perpendicularly (as if standing on their tails), staring at us with great gravity, apparently asking for more. Their large countenances resembled grey-headed negroes. They were perfectly hideous, especially such as were casting their scales. Besides periodical changes of hue, they appear to change colour momentarily when excited. More than one dog is recorded to have fallen into the pond, and to have left behind him, in the jaws of the fish, the greater part of his coat.

But the drive round Harrington Sound, which has never yet been recorded in print, is worth all the fish-ponds in the world. Paynter's Vale, especially, is a beautiful spot. The sound lies at the foot of a circle of wooded hills, like a calm and beautiful lake ; for its junction with the sea

is only visible when approached quite close. An excellent road all round (which is spanned by a bridge at the junction just mentioned) affords a beautiful drive to the lovers of fresh air and the most charming scenery.

The feat of sailing round Bermuda is seldom or never performed except by amateur military yachtsmen. Several of these performed it last year; and amongst them the writer of these pages. He was strongly advised against it by some of the inhabitants. "You may be caught in a gale, or worse, as we are in the hurricane months." "You may be becalmed for two days, and drift on some of the numerous rocks and shoals," &c. &c. were the encouraging remarks that he met with.

A young brother officer *, a boatman to act as pilot, and myself started on an expedition from Ireland Island on the 24th of July, 1856, in the "Alarm" yacht, of Bermudian celebrity. The

* This chapter was completed before I had heard of the death, from yellow fever, of this promising and amiable young officer; which took place about a fortnight after my departure from Bermuda, and which has been mentioned in chap. ii. p. 27. What made the event more sad, was the fact of his old father having died, in the same regiment, about two years previously, of cholera, in Canada.

boatman directed our course, and looked out ahead for dangers of all kinds; my comrade handled the ropes, whilst I took the helm. We were very fortunate in the weather, though for some hours threatened with a calm. We first beat from the Dockyard through Mangrove Bay, the wind being about west-south-west; but the line on my map, allowing for beating, will give a tolerable idea of our whole course.

At the west and south-west of Bermuda, the countless rocks and shoals rendered the navigation highly exciting. We steered safely through the noted *hog-fish-cut*. Soon afterwards we hoisted the square-sail, and sailed along the whole of the south side, whilst a freshening breeze behind us propelled the boat on the swell of the open Atlantic outside of all the reefs.

After passing Castle Harbour, and when abreast of St. David's Head, we took down the square-sail, and then, hauling in the main-sail, we made (to my astonishment) directly for the huge breakers in that quarter. I held the rudder, and followed the directions of the pilot, though I cherished some unpleasant doubts as to his sanity. But when we drew near to the masses of rock, over which the sea was breaking, a narrow passage of a

few yards' breadth opened out to view. We dashed boldly through it, almost scraped on either side by rugged blocks of stone, one moment bare, and the next, almost concealed beneath the boiling waves.

As it was getting late (about five P.M.), and we had all of us, on other occasions, sailed round the north side of St. George's, we preferred returning to Ireland through the usual channel for small craft, St. George's Harbour, and the Reach.

So far, all had passed off fortunately, and we were now on a familiar track. We had had a pleasant day: no calms, no tempests, plenty of provisions, and ice enough to neutralise in some degree the effects of a July Bermudian sun. Our first great trial of patience was beating up the Reach; nothing new to us, but very tiresome after a long day, for the navigable channel is so narrow, that even a small sailing boat, when beating up it, is perpetually *going about*.

It was a quarter past six, P.M., when we emerged from the Reach through St. George's Ferry, under the martello tower. The wind, nearly due west, was dead against us. Heavy clouds were gathering fast. We made slow progress. The sun set that evening about ten minutes to seven; and in

those latitudes there is no twilight ; moreover the moon would not rise for many hours. Our boatman was an excellent pilot, as long as he could see well into the water, but no longer. Indeed it is considered very rash to attempt to sail in the dark between St. George's and the Dockyard.

We naturally became very anxious when darkness had supervened. We, however, proceeded for a considerable time in safety. At length we could see nothing except, on one side, the faint outline of Admiralty Hill, and on the other the lights of the barracks in the Dockyard. The pilot was now desired to take the helm himself. Without being actually drunk, that worthy was very merry from the beer and wine he had been given in the course of the day. He was laughing and talking incessantly — when, lo ! we, suddenly bumped on a large rock. We grazed along over its surface, and proceeded without stopping. It was then raining slightly. We made the pilot quit the helm, and go forward to look out, if possible, for dangers,—an arrangement, which (coupled with his disgust at having already put us on the rocks) made him very sulky for the rest of the voyage. He did his very best to discourage us. I expostulated with him very gently on his unreasonable behaviour,

but my young comrade begged me not to speak to him, "lest, out of spite, he should smash us on purpose," — relying on his powers of swimming for reaching the shore, which was about half a mile off at the nearest point.

Some persons in the neighbourhood of the Ducking-stool, who saw our white sails (though we could not see the speakers), shouted out to us, "It is low water! you will get on the rocks!" and other discouraging remarks. True enough it was low water, and we were still more than two miles from the Dockyard; which distance, as it was a dead beat, might be reckoned at five or six miles. I asked the pilot to land us at the nearest possible point, but he declared that that would be quite as dangerous as to go on. So on we went, the pilot kindly telling us that it was ten to one that we should strike again, in which case we could scarcely hope to escape as easily as the first time.

A very unpleasant hour and a half did we pass before we got abreast of H. M. S. "Powerful," at Grassy Bay, and found ourselves clear of all danger. It was about half past nine, P.M., when we landed at the Dockyard, having taken just twelve hours to perform our interesting voyage.

In a small steamer, a trip round Bermuda would

be an easy, safe, and pleasant affair of three or four hours. But, in a sailing-boat, no one thinks of making the circuit a second time ; and very few undertake it at all.

During the sail round the islands, the pilot told me a very interesting tale of an adventure which had occurred to him, and which had threatened him with a terrible fate. About two years ago, he, in company with another Mudian, went as a sailor from Bermuda to Boston, in a small brigantine, at wages of twelve dollars a month. At Boston, the Yankee captain of another brigantine, persuaded the two Mudians to transfer their services to him for twenty-five dollars a month each. They then sailed to Florida. There the Mudian sailors fell sick, and were taken into a charitable hospital in that slave state. The Yankee skipper, who, on the passage to Florida, had been very kind to my informant,—“constantly chaffing him in a friendly way,”—went to see him. “Very kind!” thought the pilot.* However, the captain soon informed him that he could get 1600 hundred dollars for him ; and

* He was not a regular pilot ; but it was usual in Bermuda to call the principal hand on board a sail-boat “the pilot,” a kind of brevet rank, in fact.

that he had made up his mind to sell both him and his companion as slaves.

“He thought me, I suppose,” said the pilot to us, “a stupid fellow, like most of the regular Africans; but I was a deal too ’cute for him.” However, he was really frightened at first, whilst his poor comrade was dissolved in tears and lamentations; never again expecting to see his mother or Bermuda.

The rascally Yankee had a cart ready to convey his prizes inland, where he would have sold them to some estate,—after which, the mantle of oblivion would, probably, have for ever covered the nefarious transaction.

The stupid candour of this seller of free men frustrated his wicked designs, for the chief doctor of the hospital happened, fortunately, to be an Englishman, and he, when informed of the scheme, appealed to the English Consul. The latter brought the case before the American authorities. The Yankee bolted from justice,—which, probably, winked at his escape. But the intended victims were shipped off, by the English Consul, as sailors, on board a vessel bound for Bermuda, and returned in safety to their native country. Whilst still in Florida, they had seen many slaves beaten,

and dragged along by the hair of their heads,—quite enough to make them fully appreciate the fate which they had escaped from. But my informant was such an insolent and blaspheming rascal, that I could not help thinking that it would have done him a real service if he could have undergone a few months of the discipline, the sight of which had filled him with so much terror.

CHAP. VIII.

UPPER CLASS MORMONISTS OF ENGLAND.—ANGLO-MORMON BOOKS OF DEVOTION.—EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN MORMONISM.—A PROPHECY LITERALLY FULFILLED.—EMANCIPATION NO INJURY TO BERMUDIAN PROPRIETORS.—SLAVERY IN BARBADOES AND BERMUDA.—THE COLOURED POPULATION.—OLD PENAL SLAVE-LAWS.—COLONIAL SERVANTS.—IMMIGRATION BILL.—BEGGARY RARE.—THE FREEDMAN'S "*TITLE*."—THE BOATMEN.—FEMALE DOMESTICS.—SHAMELESS IMMORALITY.—VICE AND DIRT.—RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.—ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE.—PRIDE OF CASTE AND COLOUR.—ANTAGONISTIC RACES.—HUMILITY *BY PROXY* EASY.—"*SWORD AND CLOAK*" ROMANCES.

A FEW months' residence in the Somers' Islands, would probably stagger "the continual faith" even of the great English preacher of doubt and deism, "in the native grandeur of man;" for that writer, although apt enough to abuse man individually with the unutterable contempt of conscious superiority, yet, at times, somewhat inconsistently attributes to the species generally his own godlike (though seldom comprehensible) sublimity of purpose. His originality rests, however, on higher ground than a strange

eccentric style. It was he who first pointed out to his astonished readers "*the pure religion*" which graced the poetic life of a Goethe. It was left for him to discover the aspirations of a devout mind in the startling blasphemies, as the vulgar thought them, of the "*Sorrows of Werther*,"* published when Goethe was five and twenty. It was left for him to show to the English public that Goethe, publishing, at seventy-two, the—as the vulgar thought them—deistical tenets and rank obscenities of "*Wilhelm Meister's Wandeljahre*," was summing up "successfully" a life spent in the search of the true objects of man's existence here below.

This English writer has many devout followers of both sexes in his own country. If these do not merely resemble country people sitting at church under a flowery preacher, admiring the more the less they understand, I would humbly ask them one question—Has any man, woman, or child ever extracted from the flowing pages of that great preacher of what may be called Euro-

* Take as an example: — "Sagt nicht selbst der Sohn Gottes dass die nur ihn sein würden, die ihm der Vater gegeben hat? Wenn ich ihm nun nicht gegeben bin? Wenn mich nun der Vater für sich behalten will, wie mir mein Herz sagt?"

pean Mormonism, a single idea useful in the bustle of life, or comforting in the hour of death.*

At all events, his followers cannot sneer at his American prototype — Joe Smith — whose doctrine is as reasonable as that of their own leader, and quite as comprehensible both in substance and language. The proselytes of Joe Smith, moreover, are not educated people in London, but a wretched ignorant rabble at the Great Salt Lake; for whom compassion, even more than disgust, is the appropriate sentiment.

If, however, native grandeur exists anywhere in man, it must shine in the greatest relief wherever the white and negro races mingle together, for the former race in comparison with the latter appears, both in mental and physical qualities, to be of a truly angelic extraction.

* Speaking of the irreligion that hastened and degraded the French revolution, De Tocqueville, in his last work, says, “En France, on attaqua avec une sorte de fureur la religion chrétienne, *sans essayer même de mettre une autre à sa place*. On travailla ardemment et continûment à ôter des âmes la foi qui les avait remplies, *et on les laissa vides*.” Surely, then, even regarded merely in a political point of view, it is a miserable blunder for English writers to attack the Christian religion “without even attempting to put another in its place.”

But even those who have little faith in the native grandeur of man,—who, on the contrary, too well know his natural selfishness and meanness,—may still acknowledge the evident superiority of one race over another. No superiority is more decided and undeniable than that of the white over the black races of mankind.* Milton describes the patriarch Ham, as

“Th’ irreverent son
Of him who built the ark, who for the shame
Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,
Servant of servants, on his vicious race.”

This curse has been literally fulfilled. And if, like the old Jewish law, it shall ultimately yield to the influence of the Christian religion, it must be by the latter’s reality, and not by its mere form, that so great a change can be effected. Meantime it is only by displaying the actual state of these *servants of servants* that they can be benefitted; as a sore must be boldly exposed before a cure can reasonably be expected.

It was not until 1632, that slaves were generally imported to Bermuda. Nor did they ever endure there such toils and hardships as their

* This superiority is not felt by the eye and understanding alone, one’s very nose corroborates the fact.

brethren, in the West Indies usually underwent.* The absence of sugar cultivation, and the comparative neglect of agriculture, fully accounted for this easier existence. Indeed, there is every reason to believe, that, before the passing of the Emancipation Act, slaves in Bermuda had, for the most part, become a burden to their masters. An able-bodied negro was, undoubtedly, still a valuable article ; but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the number of aged, juvenile, and sickly slaves whom their masters were compelled to support. Under these circumstances, Emancipation, accompanied by liberal compensation, was a positive boon ; and that it was so considered by those concerned, may be inferred from the fact, that the Colonial Legislature declined the benefit of apprenticeship, and allowed the slaves to obtain their full liberty in 1834. Great praise, indeed, at the expense of other colonies, has been bestowed upon this supposed magnanimity. But in fact, it was only in sugar and coffee growing countries, where slave labour (the toil being great) was supposed to be indispensable, that the Apprentice-

* Bishop Berkeley alludes to this fact in a manner very flattering to the colony, in which he was then expecting to be about to take up his residence.

ship Act was of any great value ; and none of these refused a boon that deferred, as they believed, their approaching ruin.

But in 1834, agriculture was still at a very low ebb in Bermuda ; and the better kind of slaves never having been employed in the fields, it was not considered necessary to make labour compulsory for three years longer. In such a case it is absurd to compare what were then a few nearly barren islands with a sugar colony like Barbadoes, carrying on a great trade in an article requiring severe labour both in its cultivation, and in its preparation for the market.

The author was stationed in Barbadoes, at the expiration of the Apprenticeship Act in 1837,—and remembers well the fears of immediate ruin which oppressed the minds of the proprietors, at the prospect of labour ceasing to be compulsory. Nor were those fears entirely groundless. In a short time, many families were more or less impoverished, and many estates changed owners. But nothing whatever of this melancholy kind followed emancipation in the Somers' Islands, where agriculture was very far from being a general occupation.

Although the coloured Mudians have almost

all been taught to read and write, yet their memories are so defective, and their dispositions so idle, that, with few exceptions, they forget before they are twenty everything that they have learnt.* Notwithstanding that twenty-two years have elapsed since their entire freedom was granted to them, they have still all the vices characteristic of slavery. They are a mean and cowardly race; the men are mostly dishonest, and the truth is not in them. With rare exceptions, the women resemble the men, and are besides,

“illud, quod dicere nolo!”

A most respectable and worthy couple, who had had thirty years' experience of coloured domestics, assured me that in all this time they had chanced upon only one thoroughly honest and good servant. It is not, therefore, wonderful that, in my far less extended experience, I also met with only one such exception.

* The same forgetfulness has certainly been often observed in England, but there the real explanation would probably be found to be, that there never had been, in the cases in question, anything deserving the name of education. Opportunities for the latter are certainly *proportionably* greater in our smaller colonies than in England.

The insolence of the race is probably a natural reaction after a sudden release from centuries of enforced humility. It is true, as previously stated, that they were never very severely tasked in Bermuda; but the mingled dread and contempt cherished for them occasioned the promulgation of very cruel and degrading edicts during the existence of slavery. For instance, the Colonial Assembly in 1730, enacted it "to be no offence if an owner, in correcting a slave, should happen to take his life."* And in 1761, after a real or supposed conspiracy, it was enacted "that any negro, who met a white person during the night, and was challenged, should fall on his knees; on failure of which, such offender was to receive 100 lashes."*

Perhaps, after such quotations as the above, we should not be surprised that there is much truth in the remark of Sam Slick, that "there is nothing so saucy as a free nigger."

Coloured servants are one of the greatest discomforts of Bermuda. Not only are they idle and insolent, but nothing is safe from them that can be carried off without risk of detection. It is rare

* Williams's Bermuda. These abuses, however, had disappeared long before emancipation.

to get servants with genuine good characters. The consequence is that they are commonly taken without any character at all. Boys, as requiring less wages, are usually preferred to men, but are incorrigibly idle and dishonest.* English persons, at all events, accustomed to be served with civility, cleanliness, and honesty, can seldom put up long with any Mudian servants. These, however, care very little about being turned off. It does not destroy their hopes of other places. It is, moreover, asserted that, when wholly unemployed, one pennyworth of treacle, beat up with water in a peculiar manner, will keep a coloured man or woman well and hearty for twenty-four hours. Such persons are not easily to be starved into industry or good conduct. Nevertheless, when they get the opportunity, they delight to cram themselves with every kind of delicacy. They are very extravagant in self-indulgence; and will frequently spend a month's wages in two or three days in lining their interior, as well as decorating their exterior.

The impossibility of inducing the coloured

* These boys are so fond of sleeping, that even in the hottest weather some of them require to be *dug* out of bed at eight or half past A.M., hours after their masters are up and about.

population to labour with industry, and the consequent detriment to trade, commerce, and especially agriculture, led, in 1855, to the introduction of a local Act to encourage immigration. It passed the Assembly, but was rejected by the Council. The coloured natives, with a temporary energy, aroused by strong self-interest, got up many earnest petitions against the bill. This, together with the expense involved in the measure, and some doubts as to the quality of procurable immigrants, influenced the decision of the Council. A fresh lease of idleness was therefore granted to the coloured population.* But as immigration has answered in Demerara there can be little doubt that it would succeed still better amongst a population who, generally speaking, cannot even be compared with that of the West Indies in energy and industry; or rather who excel the latter in apathetic laziness.†

From the facility of gaining a bare livelihood amongst the lower classes, begging is by no means

* Vide Chap. IV. p. 89., on the Portuguese immigrants at Demerara.

† Immigration or compulsory labour are the only alternatives, if we desire to make our free West Indian colonies compete with slave states.

a common occurrence. It must also be confessed, with shame, that the vice of drunkenness is almost monopolised by the white population.

At the emancipation in 1834, the first thought of every manumitted slave was the selection of his "*title*," — for thus the negroes called a surname, which they had long considered as the sign of freedom. The slaves had only possessed christian names. It was as John of such an estate, or George of such a master, that they were identified. They now seized with avidity, and without leave or ceremony, upon the names of the oldest and most popular families. Thus the stranger is astonished at the number of black Butterfields, Tuckers, Outerbridges, Harveys, &c., whose names meet his ears on all sides. It reminds one of the old Scotch clans, in which every one assumed the surname of his chief, and in time claimed also consanguinity. Some ignorant persons attribute the multiplicity of certain names in the Somers' Islands to causes which could not possibly wholly account for the fact in question, and which have been imagined in ignorance of the above mentioned matter of "*titles*."

There are more exceptions of good conduct

probably amongst the boatmen than any other class of the coloured population, though many of these also are distinguished for their insolence. One of them, in the service of the commodore of the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club, attempted to throw his master overboard, but that zealous step-son of Neptune returned the intended compliment, by actually giving his assailant a good ducking in the sea. The boatman, however, in this case was drunk; a circumstance of rare occurrence amongst blacks.

Female servants are even worse than the males. The following is the usual dialogue between ladies and candidates for situations.

Lady. "Are you married?"

Servant. "No."

Lady. "Have you children?"

Servant. "Yes."

Lady. "How many?"

Servant. "Two, three, seven," &c. (as the case may be).

These answers are almost always given with the coolest effrontery; as if shame were wholly unknown. If the lady look shocked, the candidate only laughs. There is no choice. Sooner or later

nearly all the coloured females arrive at the same state of unblessed maternity.*

Of an (apparently) very young candidate, a lady, on one occasion, thought it needless to ask the usual questions. She was taken into a service where her mother was already cook. One day when spoken to about a baby, the girl replied: "Oh! I know all about children; *I have had three myself.*" The girl turned out to be some years older than she appeared to be. Her mamma, the cook, had never been married, and had herself been born out of wedlock. She was also a wretchedly bad cook, and always so dirty that she was ashamed ever to show herself out of the kitchen. Nevertheless, this old lady was as proud as Lucifer. She quarrelled one day with a white fellow-servant, wife to a soldier of the garrison. In the height of her anger, the cook contemptuously exclaimed, as the very extreme of abuse: "Soldier's wife!" "Soldier's wife!" This was tolerably impudent from a woman in whose family the word *wife* had

* There is plenty of this sort of immorality in England; but there it is the exception, and generally condemned; whilst in Bermuda it is the rule, and generally tolerated, or laughed at, when confined to the coloured population.

for ages been an unknown sound and marriage an unknown ceremony.

Next to vice and dishonesty, dirt and vanity are the leading characteristics of these people. On their filthiness, it would be unpleasant to dwell, but their vanity, coupled with their hideousness, is most amusing. The women are very fond of appearing in the brightest and most incongruous colours; they also delight in being out at night; and expect constant leave to attend evening parties. On these occasions they

“Are not to be trusted,
Longing to be seen, though by the devil himself.”

Crimes, however, of a deep die are by no means common, though of course occasionally committed. Cases of honesty are sometimes met with, and appear to the greater advantage from the contrast around them. A member of Council, by no means deficient in prudence, was in the habit of employing a coloured Mudian to collect his rents; a proof of confidence that (coming from the quarter it did) spoke volumes. Good workmen even are sometimes found amongst them; but dilatoriness is the rule, industry only the exception.

Enough has been already said to prove that the

Bible Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, have still an ample field for their labours in the Somers' Islands.* The former of these Societies, however, appears to have little local support. It labours under two disadvantages: the Established Church has set its face against it; and the local committee does not appear very eager to increase the list of subscribers to that invaluable society.

But whatever plans are formed for the advantage of the coloured race in Bermuda must unite sound discretion to zealous benevolence, otherwise the best intentions may be frustrated, as they were in the following instance.

In the reign of George the First, a charter was granted for a college at Bermuda, to consist of a president and nine fellows. It was called St. Paul's College. The famous Bishop Berkeley originated the idea and exerted his utmost to

* Benevolent ladies might do much towards improving the intellectual condition of the coloured population. The name of Mrs. Eden (whose husband was acting governor some years ago) is still affectionately remembered by a race not remarkable for gratitude. Charitable societies cannot effectively supply the place of individual exertion, however useful they may be as auxiliaries.

carry it out into execution.* Its object was to educate persons for the Church of England in the colonies. It was, however, a complete failure, and was abandoned for more than a century. But in 1853 an attempt was made to revive the college on the model of Oxford and Cambridge, and on the principle of being open (for the benefit of our West Indian and North American colonies) to all ranks and both colours. An eloquent Bermudian lawyer, in a rather voluminous letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, fully exposed the absurdity of a number of princes, peers, and prelates in England attempting to make learned academicians out of wretchedly poor and lately emancipated negroes. He dwelt, moreover, on the injustice of levelling ranks under the form of equalising races. He showed also that prejudices of race are not to be conquered by the mere stroke of the pen of benevolent, but, on that subject, ill-informed individuals. He further, in effect, says, "you wish us gentlemen of Bermuda to educate our children with those of the poor *blacks* ;

* In 1725, the able and generous bishop published in London, "A proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans (Indians) to Christianity, by a college, &c. &c., at Bermuda."

but are you yourselves ready to set the easier example of educating your own children with those of your *white* labourers and mechanics in England ? ”

The grandiloquent secretary of the intended college pronounced all the objectors to the scheme to be “behind the age they lived in.” He bestowed on them his compassion, and expressed his confidence in the success of the undertaking. Poor man ! he will not be numbered among the prophets. Three years have elapsed ; and the *college* has developed into nothing better than a *free negro school*, to which the intelligent white Bermudian families cannot be expected to send their children, till they hear that any of the noble or episcopal subscribers have sent their children to a similar school in England. Nay, *and not even then*, for colour, combined with physical and intellectual inferiority, is a stronger obstacle to amalgamation than mere difference of conventional rank. “Hitherto,” says De Tocqueville, “wherever the whites have been the most powerful, they have maintained the blacks in a subordinate or a servile position ; wherever the negroes have been strongest they have destroyed the whites.” It is evident therefore, that equality,

as a permanent institution, is impossible between the two races.

Not a soul from the West Indies, far less from North America, has ever thought of proceeding to the Bermuda college for his education. In many of the West India islands, the favour of the mother country having been supported by the preponderance of the coloured population, some of the latter have attained to considerable wealth and social position. But "no such spectacle is seen in Bermuda," writes Mr. Gray* ; a fact which the writer of these pages can fully confirm.

The poverty of the place, and the general absence of enterprise amongst the Mudiands, black or white, is less the cause of the low state of the coloured population than the fact that the latter, even now, do not greatly exceed in number their white compatriots. In Bermuda coloured people and the lowest classes are almost synonymous terms ; so that the patrons of St. Paul's College could scarce have chosen a spot less favourable to the experiment of amalgamating the two races. How, for instance, could a rich man of colour, in

* In the letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury before mentioned.

the Windward and Leeward Islands, be induced to send his children for education to a place where the epithet "*a coloured gentleman*" could excite nothing but ridicule, and where the children would find themselves excluded from all but the very lowest society?

In September, 1856, a young naval officer left his ship at Grassy Bay to pass the day and sleep at St. George's; the wardroom steward accompanied him. The steward was of African blood and Barbadian descent, but was an Englishman by birth, — a clean and most respectable man — of colour.

The officer dined at an hotel, where he intended to sleep. After dinner he sent for the steward, not to sit with him, but simply to take a glass of wine, — no very unusual proceeding under the circumstances. But the host positively refused to allow a man of colour to enter his parlour.

The officer, after some expostulation, in which he explained that the intrusion would be but momentary, but which had no effect, left the hotel in disgust. It must be added, that the officer was alone at the time, so that it could not be said that he might have annoyed others, by carrying out his good-natured intentions. Englishmen relating the

anecdote, laid great stress on the high birth of the naval officer *, contrasting the condescension of nobility with the vulgar hauteur of plebeians. But this view of the case displays ignorance of human nature, for it was precisely the high social position of the young officer that enabled him to display condescension with impunity.

The English nation is exceedingly liberal, not only in its treatment of, but also in its language towards, the coloured population; and it also compels its colonies to put into practice its own benevolent theories without sufficient regard to the law of expediency. Nothing in fact is easier than for an Englishman at home to advocate the liberal equality and amalgamation of the two races abroad, for he is not likely to be himself called upon for any trying test of his sincerity. Benevolence, abnegation, humiliation even, are not difficult when performed by proxy in a distant land; but if negroes were proportionably as plentiful in England as in a West Indian colony, or even as in the United States, English opinions regarding them would undergo a wonderful change.

In America, the land of democracy, the negroes,

* He was a brother of a viscount, and stepson to a marquis.

when freed, dare not make use of any of their political rights, and are still the degraded outcasts of civilised life. They are more fortunate in the British colonies, because in some they form the majority of the population, and in all they are protected by the powerful mother country,—indulgent herself and self-denying by proxy.

Distance also lends enchantment to things from which a closer contact can extract only disgust and disappointment. It is thus that a noble poet living in a palace will sing, in enraptured strains, the charms of a cottage. From the same cause, the writer has himself heard rich romantic ladies, surrounded with every luxury, talk of the delight of following through the world a gallant young subaltern, even though the possessions of the latter might be limited to *a sword* with which to fight for and *a cloak* in which to wrap up the devoted object of his affections!

CHAP. IX.

ADMIRALTY HOUSE. — EARL OF DUNDONALD. — SIR GEORGE SEYMOUR. — FLEETS ASSEMBLED AT BERMUDA. — THE LARGEST SHIP THAT EVER REACHED GRASSY BAY. — THE GUN-BOATS. — THE SPANISH STEAMER. — COAL LIFTING. — THE ADMIRAL'S CAVES. — EARL OF DUNDONALD'S PROJECTS. — *ESPRIT DE CORPS* NEGLECTED IN ENGLAND. — DESERTIONS TO THE UNITED STATES. — DESERTIONS IN 1856. — A COOL BANDMASTER. — BARRACK IMPROVEMENTS. — HEALTHINESS OF BERMUDA.

BERMUDA and Halifax are the only places where the naval commander-in-chief of the North American and West Indian station has residences on land. Admiralty House, or "Clarence Hill," is situated near Spanish Point. It is a picturesque, but not very extensive mansion. A considerable sum was long since granted for its enlargement, but as every successive admiral has preferred occupying it in its present state to giving it up for repairs for an unlimited period, it is impossible to foretell when the voted improvements will be carried into effect.

The admirals are usually very popular characters at Bermuda. The Earl of Dundonald and Sir

George Seymour are there still remembered, and two of the little fleet of Bermudian merchantmen (very swift sailing barques) commemorate their names.

The admiral visits the Somers' Islands twice every year; in spring and in autumn. But until lately, for a considerable portion of the year not a pennant was visible. In November, 1855, however, the Mudians were astonished by the presence of a fleet of eight of her Majesty's ships. The colony was thus enriched and enlivened by the threatening aspect of brother Jonathan. The fleet consisted of the "Boscawen," 70 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Fanshawe, the commander-in-chief; the "Pembroke" and "Cornwallis," 60 gun screws; the "Termagant," 24, bearing the flag of Commodore Kellett of Arctic fame; the "Eurydice," 26; and three paddle steamers, "Medea," "Argus," and "Buzzard."

Since the last war with America, such a fleet had never before appeared at Bermuda; though it was destined to be eclipsed a few months later, in 1856. The fleet soon dispersed, leaving behind only the "Cornwallis" and "Pembroke," ugly twins, usually styled *war junks*. A similarity of fate as well as of appearance distinguished those

vessels; and to complete the picture, their noble captains were the *Damon* and *Pythias* of modern life. They both, also, received their Bath decorations for the Baltic on the same day; and finally they both left Bermuda on the same day, and, after a good passage, arrived in England, also on the same day. May their shadows never be less!

In June, 1856, eight of her Majesty's vessels again rode on the Bermudian waters; eclipsing the former display by the addition of the line of battle ship "Powerful," 84. The famous "Euryalus" also paid a passing visit. The "Powerful" for about two months remained alone with the assistance of a small local steamer; and was relieved early in August, by H. M. S. "Nile" (screw) of 91 guns. The arrival of this leviathan was quite an important event; for hitherto no vessel of that size had ever anchored within the reefs. Mr. Hayward warden of pilots (a white), had a most arduous task to perform in taking the "Nile" through *the Narrows*. The usual depth of that channel is about twenty-seven feet; but it is not quite so much in some parts. The "Nile" drew twenty-six feet astern and twenty-four at the bows. To raise the stern sufficiently to pass in

safety, Captain Mundy was compelled to order his men to move about forward with heavy shot in their hands. And notwithstanding every precaution the vessel struck several times; crashing the coral formations, however, with such irresistible force, as not to sustain itself the slightest damage. From the Narrows, the rest of the way up to Grassy Bay was safe enough, following the ships' channel; and the "Nile" anchored in the usual place opposite the Dockyard.*

Towards the end of August, two small gun-boats of twenty horse power arrived, to be laid up in readiness for future use.† Before this was done, one of them proceeded to Hamilton with Captain Mundy and a few friends. It did not steam fast; because, the guns and shot having been taken out, the wheel was only half submerged. The 'Mudians, though generally so phlegmatic in their habits, turned out in great numbers to inspect the novel craft. It was then drawing less

* Order was maintained amongst the 900 souls on board the "Nile," by a happy combination of parental kindness with official strictness.

† Only one of the officers commanding the gun-boats, was compelled to remain permanently at Bermuda, to his great disgust; and, poor fellow! he died of yellow fever in November, 1856.

WATSON LITH



M. & N. BARNARD TINT

GRASSY FAY - H M S NILE

Printed and Published by H. WATSON

than five feet of water, whereas the Bermudian sail-boats, even of the secondary size, usually draw more than six feet. The gun-boat however, it was evident, could not rival the sail-boats in passing through the rocks; probably from requiring a much greater distance to turn in. Undoubtedly, however, gun-boats will always be very useful *as auxiliaries* in defending these islands,—should they ever be attacked.

A short visit from the Spanish war-steamer "Isabella Segunda" enlivened the Dockyard in April, 1856. Don Jose de Arios, the commander, and his officers were entertained by the officers of the "Cameronians," stationed at Ireland Isle. The Spanish officers were gentlemanly and agreeable men, who spoke French passably, though almost wholly unacquainted with English. They had just arrived from the Havannah, and were full of wrath against the Americans, whom, as a naval power, they affected to treat with contempt. The Spanish steamer had visited Bermuda the previous year, and had, as was subsequently discovered, carried off much more coal than it had paid for. The cleverness of the engineer in the steamer, and the confiding carelessness of our own commissariat officers, occasioned the loss in ques-

tion ; but there was nothing to cause suspicion, that the Spanish captain was in any way concerned in the matter. But if he had been, it would have been nothing wonderful ; for as Spanish officials (whenever they can) pilfer their own government without scruple, it would be unreasonable to expect them to be very particular in their transactions with foreign governments.*

The "Admiral's Caves," near Spanish Point, are worthy of a visit. The Earl of Dundonald, some years ago, when naval commander-in-chief on the station, had amongst his crews some Cornish miners. These he employed in making excavations in the rocks below his grounds. A long gallery terminates at one end in a large apartment opening on the sea, which commands a pretty view of Grassy Bay, and Ireland Island. At the other end of the excavations there is an extensive and picturesque cavernous bath, partly natural and partly improved by art. The bath is full at high water, and is never quite empty at any time.

* The Spanish Government frequently keeps back, for many months, the pay of its officers ; and ought not, therefore, to be surprised if it is not always served with the honesty of which it does not set the example.

Lord Dundonald also distinguished himself by an attempt to deepen the channel of the Great Sound. The colony is said to have expended 2000*l.* sterling on the undertaking; but one additional foot of depth for a small distance was the only advantage realized. The bravest of brave sailors has ever been more remarkable for the boldness than for the success of his scientific plans; and it may well be doubted whether his project for destroying Cronstadt was worth incurring the expense of an experiment.

The present admiral has the reputation of a very efficient officer; and in kindness and hospitality he could not be surpassed.* His captains also were generally great favourites.

The garrison of Bermuda was reduced, by the war in the Crimea, to much less than even its usual inefficient strength. The artillery were not numerous enough to man one in fifty of the guns of the fortifications. The infantry could at no time have been able to turn out 600 effective bayonets, and up to the close of 1855 were supplied only with the old musket.

* He has been relieved of his command since the above was written.

The 26th Cameronians formed the principal part of the garrison. The noble origin of this regiment (whose present officers are as gentlemanly a set as any in the service) is immortalized in the pages of Macaulay.* But a great mistake, arising from ignorance of human nature, has of late years been made with regard to this corps. Essentially a Scotch, and still more essentially a Protestant body, its nationality and religion have both been wantonly wounded by general enlistment. And Irish Catholics (excellent soldiers in their proper place) now represent in great numbers the grim old Scotch Covenanters. The regiment is no longer either exclusively Scotch or exclusively Protestant. Macaulay informs us that one of the first acts of the original Cameronians after their embodiment "was to petition the Parliament that all drunkenness, and licentiousness, and profaneness might be severely punished!" Imagine any modern regiment making such a petition!

Certainly bigotry was carried to very uncharitable lengths in those days. Nevertheless, of the two extremes, an intolerant faith or no faith at

* For the heroic defence of Dunkeld, where young, half-disciplined soldiers proved the invincible force of religious faith united to the love of liberty.

all, few can doubt which will ever form the better and more irresistible warriors.*

In the seventeenth century, as the most delightful of historians has reminded us, a rabble of tapsters and serving men, inspired with religious zeal and tempered by strict discipline, repeatedly routed, in pitched battles, the bravest and most powerful nobility in the world. That a faith of any sort has great power was proved in France, when first the republic, and afterwards Napoleon, were the objects of enthusiastic idolatry, for which millions were ready to sacrifice their lives.

Desertions, so common in North America, are rare in Bermuda, solely because the opportunities are rare. Ships leaving the port are always carefully searched. The only tolerable chance of success, therefore, lies in putting to sea unperceived in a Bermudian sail-boat. This plan has occasionally succeeded. Two soldiers escaped in

* Even that sneering infidel who dedicated two long chapters to destroy, if possible, the prevailing consolatory faith, without offering any rational substitute—even Gibbon, when discussing the Roman armies, tells us, that when patriotism ceased to be a motive of action “it became necessary to supply that defect by other motives of a different, but not less forcible nature — *honour and RELIGION.*”

this manner from St. George's in 1855, and three from Ireland Isle in 1856.

In the latter case, the fugitives selected a night when a strong wind was blowing from the south-east. After breaking out of the barracks in the Dockyard, they seized a government sail-boat called the "Jane," which was doing duty for the naval hospital boat*, then under repairs. They stole some bread (about ten loaves), and took also ten gallons of water. They then boldly started for America in their little craft. It is believed that they had a compass, though they thought proper to deny the fact at New York, where they arrived in seven days. Two of the three had formerly been sailors, and understood something of navigation. The senior naval officer at the time, after giving them about eight hours' start, despatched a steamer in their pursuit. It might have been saved the trouble; for it proceeded about ten miles, and then returned to the Dockyard.

The fugitives, however, were arrested at New York, by an officer of the American coast-guard,

* In Chapter XI. page 199. will be found recorded the failure, a few years previously, of the attempts of some convicts to escape by means almost exactly similar.

on suspicion, in spite of the plausible story which they had prepared for the occasion. The authorities at Bermuda might have claimed these men, not indeed as deserters, but, as having purloined a sail-boat and some bread. They did not do so, however, probably lest, in accordance with their usual practice, the Yankees should decline to recognise the offence, under the plea that the taking the boat "was merely *incidental* to the desertion." *

Some years ago, the bandmaster of the regiment then in Bermuda was a great favourite with his commanding officer. He had long been in the corps, and had been raised for his good conduct to the very respectable post he occupied; and which, in most regiments, is held by civilians of a class far above that of a military non-commissioned officer. The bandmaster gave lessons on the piano to Colonel R.'s daughter; and for this purpose, her piano was left at his house.

One day Colonel R. observed his bandmaster

* Since writing the above remarks, the author's anticipations have been fully realized. Mr. Marcy has offered to return the boat, but keeps the men. England may wish America joy of them, for two of the deserters were great scoundrels and thieves.

at a sale, purchasing a sextant; and asked him what he wanted it for. "Oh," replied he, "I am going to see if I can learn navigation."

The colonel was a very early riser. One morning, when returning from a ride to St. George's Ferry, he met the bandmaster leading a goat.

"Where are you taking that goat to?" quoth the colonel.

"I am taking him to New York," replied the other in a jocular tone.

Colonel R—— laughed unsuspectingly at the free and easy familiarity of his favourite, and returned to St. George's. Shortly afterwards, one of the officer's private boats was observed sailing out of the harbour; at the same moment the head of one of the bandmaster's sons was recognised emerging from the cabin,—and then immediately knocked down by his angry father. Such was the last *tableau vivant* of that worthy family vouchsafed to their old friends at Bermuda. The colonel's piano and various other articles were also missed. There were probably no means of giving immediate chase at the time; at all events, the party arrived safely at New York. There a romance was concocted: "a gentleman of fortune had been accidentally carried out to sea, whilst cruising in his pleasure yacht with his family," &c. In those

SUMMER SLEEPING TENT, IRELAND, 1876



W. T. WATSON

days few questions were asked of new-comers by brother Jonathan. The last thing heard of the affair was, that the bandmaster was established at a theatre as leader of the band, whilst his daughters figured as actresses on the stage.

Now a-days the Yankees have consented to give up fugitives from justice ; unless, indeed, the criminality be incidental to military desertion. When it is considered that a large proportion of the population of the States has been recruited for the last sixty years chiefly from the scum of Europe, one ought not to be surprised that so much rascality of conduct and brutality of manners should taint the model republic. It is satisfactory, however, to know that the respectable portion of America is becoming daily more anxious that their country should cease to be the common sewer of European depravity.

Since the fever of 1853 the barracks of St. George's have been greatly improved as regards ventilation ; and the practice during the summer, of encamping a part of the troops both at St. George's and at Ireland Isle, has prevented that crowding together of soldiers, which was formerly so injurious to their health*.

* During summer a part of the garrison of St. George's are encamped, and a portion of the troops in the Dockyard sleep in

The civil engineer at Ireland Island, in describing the barracks there, in his evidence to the Sanitary Commission of 1854, stated: "They are so situated with reference to the ramparts, that they are shut out from the prevailing winds, and require even more than ordinary means of ventilation."

Although the ventilation has since then been improved, the error as regards the prevailing winds has not been remedied. Indeed the situation of the barracks renders the task of improvement very difficult.

On the whole, however, excepting during epidemical visitations (hitherto of rare occurrence), the troops enjoy better health in Bermuda, all the year round, than in most parts of Great Britain and Ireland; and if drunkenness could be rooted out of the army, the difference would appear much greater, for drinking is certainly more injurious to health in hot than in cold climates, and far more provocative of fever.

tents. To these measures, as well as to the coolness of the summer, it is probably owing that the yellow fever of 1856 has occasioned so little loss to the military.



DOCKYARD, CAMDER HOLKS AND BARRACKS

from the City of London H 1840

CHAP. X.

IRELAND ISLAND. — NAVAL CEMETERY. — NAVAL HOSPITAL. — SIR CHARLES PAGET'S MONUMENT. — HIS DEATH. — A FELON'S EPITAPH. — THE DOCKYARD. — ERROR IN THE DEFENCES. — NEW READING OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT. — ECONOMY OF CONVICT LABOUR. — THE COMMISSIONER'S HOUSE. — GREAT OFFICIAL EXTRAVAGANCE. — TURTLE AND CHAMPAGNE *VERSUS* MUTTON AND SMALL BEER.

IRELAND ISLAND is about a mile and a half in length; its breadth does not average a quarter of a mile. It is, in fact, at present formed into three islands by artificial cuts.* Of these the principal, Cockburn's Cut, was commenced about twenty years ago by the admiral whose name it bears, but it was not finished until two or three years later. It was intended, chiefly, for the passage of gun-boats for the purposes of defence. But at no time can any but light rowing-boats pass through it. Nevertheless it assists in strengthening the defences of the barracks and

* Existing maps (at least those published) still represent Ireland Island as a single island, and contain other glaring inaccuracies.

Dockyard ; and it could have occasioned no very great expense, the island being very narrow at that spot. The barracks are at the south of the Dockyard, and are defended by a ditch of immense depth, cut in the natural rock. The *Camber* (or enclosed breakwater) is a most useful addition to the Dockyard. There are some pretty spots to the south of Ireland Island ; and it is ornamented by a naval cemetery, which, on a small scale, is quite a model of picturesque beauty. It extends nearly across the island in a prettily wooded green spot, near the naval hospital. It is separated from the latter by what was, a few years ago, a salt lake, but is now open to the sea, on both sides, by cuts made for the purpose. This was a great improvement, both in a sanitary and military point of view ; and as the cuts are covered by neat wooden bridges, the scene has also gained in picturesque effect. Indeed the portion of Ireland Island which is to the south of the Dockyard is one of the prettiest spots in Bermuda.

Besides members of the naval departments, such of Her Majesty's troops as have died in its vicinity are also buried there. The epidemics of 1843 and 1853 are sadly recorded in the beautiful cemetery. One is, however, perhaps, most affected by the

numerous mementoes to persons whose bodies were never found, having been drowned at sea, or been lost with vessels foundered or wrecked. There are also three large monuments to naval commanders-in-chief of the station; namely, Admiral Colpoys (father-in-law to Admiral Fanshawe), Sir Richard Harvey, and the Hon. Sir Charles Paget. The case of the last distinguished officer was most extraordinary.

In 1839, Sir Charles left Jamaica in H. M. steamer "Tartarus," to proceed to Bermuda for the benefit of his health, he being ill of yellow fever at the time. But for five weeks the steamer could not find the islands*, having no chronometers on board, and being unable to make out the latitude. The poor admiral had a practical experience of the truth of Andrew Marvel's ancient description of the Islands:

"Where the remote Bermudas ride,
In the ocean's bosom *unespied*."

At last the discovery was made, that the steamer had passed Bermuda; and it finally arrived safely

* Last year (1856) a captain of the navy, in one of her Majesty's sailing vessels, coming from the West Indies in the winter, was also obliged to give up going in to Bermuda, having failed to find it, and fearing to be lost on the rocks owing to the tempestuous weather.

at its destination. But the anxiety and delay, superadded to sickness, was too much for the admiral; and only his mortal remains reached the Somers' Islands. He was highly esteemed and beloved; a worthy brother of the late Lord Anglesea, and of the late *truly* honourable Sir Edward Paget.

The Naval Hospital, in the same neighbourhood, is also very prettily situated on a hill covered with cedars. Not only sailors but soldiers quartered in Ireland Island are taken to this hospital when their cases are serious.

The burying-ground of the convicts is at Watford Island, between Boaz and Somerset. It forms a strong contrast to the cemetery already mentioned. It is a bleak unshaded piece of ground, sloping towards the "Great Sound." The graves are formed into regular rows, intersected by narrow paths. They look like garden beds laid out in a barren soil, doomed neither to blossom nor to bloom. Some of the felons' graves, however, are ornamented with head stones; a few even display epitaphs; but all is politeness and decorum. Here and there, the stereotyped literature of the tomb is exhibited; but allusion to crime nowhere appears. Indeed, exile is mentioned in a

manner which might suggest to an uninformed spectator the last resting place of a banished patriot rather than that of a transported felon.

The following is the epitaph of Donald Willis, "who left his country for his country's good," and became one of the numerous victims of the destructive fever that committed such ravages three years ago : —

IN AFFECTIONATE

REMEMBRANCE

OF

DON. WILLIS,

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE

NOVEMBER 18. 1853.

AGED 27.

DEEPLY REGRETTED BY HIS FELLOW-PRISONERS.

Farewell my friends we meet no more,
 No aid on earth my life could save ;
 For banished from my native shore,
 In a foreign clime I found a grave.

The reader will observe that here there is neither regret expressed for, nor allusion made to, the cause of Donald Willis's exile to "a foreign clime." Fears and hopes for the future appear to be equally absent from the felonious poet's vision.

At the north-east end of the Dockyard there stands upon elevated ground a large building called the Commissioner's House. In what were formerly its out-houses, a detachment of artillery is now quartered. The infantry barracks at the south are connected with the Commissioner's House by a long rampart defending the north-west side of the Dockyard. The intermediate inner space is being rapidly filled up with buildings, for naval, commissariat, and royal engineer stores.

There are considerable differences of opinion about the strength of the fortifications. Some consider them strong, others fear (with more reason, I believe) that the soft stone of which they are constructed would soon crumble under a heavy cannonade.

A hundred and twenty guns are mounted in Ireland Island; a considerable portion of which are 32- and 68-pounders. But, as has already been remarked in reference to the guns at St. George's, the majority are not of a calibre proportionate to the present state of naval gunnery.

One obvious error pervades the defences of the Dockyard. Most of the buildings in the latter are rapidly rising on a plan independent of the fortifications. The civil engineer in charge of these works, acts under the Naval Department; but

the new buildings (in the keep) are under the direction of the Royal Engineer Department, and therefore display some regard to military principles. When finished, they will be both protected and concealed from an assailing enemy*: whereas the buildings of the civil engineer (however otherwise skilfully constructed) rise far above the *enceinte*, with the addition of needless towers; needless because the hills at both ends of the Dockyard command an extensive view on every side. Thus we see a civil and a military engineer carrying on at the same time, and in the same place, two different plans.†

The Dockyard was first commenced in 1796. It has mainly contributed to raise the Bermudas from insignificance to considerable importance and prosperity. Originally the natives were employed on the works in great numbers; at present very few are so, for since the convicts were first em-

* A portion of the new buildings in question (by the Royal Engineers), as well as nearly all those built by the civil engineer, may be seen in the view of the Dockyard and barracks taken from the Commissioner's House, and placed at the head of this chapter.

† No blame attaches to the civil engineer, a most able public servant. The system or rather the want of system is to blame.

ployed, about 1825, increased efficiency (as well as less expense) has resulted from the change.

To assist the convicts, in the first instance, about fifty navigators were brought out from England, at a great expense. But their drunkenness was so universal and incorrigible, that they were got rid of as soon as possible. Some of the worst of them were treated to a new reading of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which deserves mention. These men, whilst insensible from intoxication, were secured hands and feet with cords, and shipped on board a vessel bound to the United States. Their passage money was paid to the captain; and they neither discovered where they were, nor whither they were bound, till the Somers' Islands had long vanished from their horizon.

The convicts are most useful and efficient workmen. And though they are paid for their labour, yet that pay is relatively so small, that the difference between it and the price of free labour must materially assist towards defraying the expenses of the convict establishment.* The ac-

* When I call the pay of the convicts small, it is only as compared with the price of free labour; for the free labourer would have to provide for house, food, clothing, &c. &c., which the convicts receive gratis.



THE COMMISSIONER'S HOUSE

VI. WALTON, DEL.

count of the latter will be given in the two following chapters; this one concluding with the history of the Commissioner's House.

It is about thirty years since the then Commissioner in charge of the Dockyard, dissatisfied with the house he occupied, obtained the sanction of the Home Government to the building of a new mansion. The very liberal sum of 12,000*l.* was estimated for, and sanctioned. An elevated spot, at the north-east end of the Dockyard, was the site selected. Gradually a palace rose, such as few governors in the largest colonies (except India) have ever possessed. Yet the commissioner in no way represented Majesty; and was always subordinate to the naval commander-in-chief of the station.

The external appearance of the house, with its double row of verandahs, supported by iron pillars, and guarded by railings of the same metal, must have had a very imposing aspect, before the building was suffered to fall into decay. The apartments are numerous; those of the lower story raised high above ground are lofty, and must once have been magnificent. The woodwork is of mahogany, and very solid in its construction. The chimney-pieces are all of fine marble — in a

country where most houses have no fireplaces except in the kitchens.

There are two kitchens and countless cellars. The outhouses were once very numerous, though now they are chiefly in ruins. They formerly included stabling for twelve horses—in an island where until last year (1856) horses, except for carts, were almost useless. A magnificent marble bath completed the comforts of the commissioner, and one of the most stupendous jobs of the nineteenth century.

The exact cost of the house and grounds cannot now be accurately ascertained. The marble*, mahogany, and iron were all imported from England: from whence, also, many of the workmen were brought. Common report estimates the total expense at about 90,000*l*. The best local authority, however, reckons it at about 60,000*l*. Even this is five times the amount of the liberal sum which was originally sanctioned by the Government.

The famous bath—a large room fitted up for the purpose—is said, by some persons, to have cost 5000*l*., and others 500*l*. Even the latter sum

* The extravagance of bringing out marble from England to islands teeming with stone is worthy of notice.

appears quite incredible; since the so-called marble does not resemble that used in the chimney-pieces, but is made of a stone found in one of the islands, and which admits of a beautiful polish. The bath was taken to pieces at the end of 1855, and the fragments were still lying at the back of the building last year. The bath was supplied by pipes with salt water from the sea, and with fresh water from the tanks whilst a third pipe conveyed hot water also.

The gentleman—originally a treasury clerk—for whom this monstrous expense was incurred, never took possession of the new house. He went mad before it was finished, but could scarcely have been more insane than the minister who sanctioned his plans.

A subsequent commissioner, an admiral, reaped all the advantages of a measure for which he was in no way responsible. He appears to have enjoyed a salary in keeping with his palace; and although subordinate to the naval commander-in-chief, he lived like a prince. When his time expired, he took leave of his friends, with the remark — “I am going from turtle and champagne to mutton chops and small beer!”

The post of commissioner has long since been

abolished. The charge of the Dockyard rests with the admiral. In his absence the naval store-keeper modestly, but effectively, performs the duties; though unassisted by twelve horses and unsolaced by a marble bath!

CHAP. XI.

TRANSPORTATION. — SYDNEY SMITH'S VIEWS ON IT. — AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONVICTS. — DRESS. — THE HULKS AT BOAZ AND THE DOCKYARD. — HOURS AND NATURE OF LABOUR. — CONVICTS AND SOLDIERS COMPARED. — MILITARY CONVICTS. — SAD CASE. — CANADIAN DESERTIONS. — IMPROPER DEGRADATION OF SOLDIERS. — CONVICTS ENRICHED BY IMPRISONMENT. — EDUCATION IN PRISON. — ESCAPES. — SYDNEY JACK'S ESCAPES. — SECRESY AND MUTUAL MISTRUST OF PRISONERS. — THEIR JEALOUSY OF RIGHTS. — MITCHELL. — YANKEE PLOTS TO RESCUE HIM. — PREPARATIONS TO RECEIVE FILIBUSTERS. — MITCHELL'S TRAVELS. — CONVICT CONSPIRACY. — PROBABLE EFFECTS OF THE NEW REGULATIONS.

TRANSPORTATION to the colonies was certainly, in former times, a most severe punishment: and, though it has long ceased to be so, it was not till lately easy to eradicate traditionary ideas on the subject from the minds of many who ought to have known better. Unfortunately, those who principally profited by the altered system were not amongst the unenlightened on that important point. The whole subject, however, appears to be now exciting attention and interest amongst

the educated classes in England; and will, therefore, it is to be hoped, be one day satisfactorily settled.

Sydney Smith, in his "Advice to Parishioners," writes as follows: "Give me leave to tell you, transportation is no joke. Up at five in the morning, dressed in a jacket half blue, half yellow, chained on to another person like two dogs, a man standing over you with a great stick, weak porridge for breakfast, bread and water for dinner, boiled beans for supper, straw to lie upon, and all for thirty years!"

In the course of this chapter, the reader will judge for himself of the fidelity of this picture, even in a colony to which the very worst criminals are transported. Sydney Smith, it is true, may have wilfully exaggerated for the sake of effect; but still it is difficult to believe that he could have been fully aware of the system carried on in the nineteenth century, or at least for the last thirty years.

The convict establishment at Bermuda, is fixed partly at Boaz, and partly at Ireland Islands. The whole is under the authority of the governor of the colony as superintendent. Under him there is a deputy superintendent (who resides at

Boaz), three overseers, and about forty warders and assistant warders. The number of prisoners is constantly fluctuating. In the course of every year, several fresh batches arrive ; and others, who have nearly finished their time, return home. Since 1853, there have seldom been more than 1200 at any one time*, and that is about their present strength. They are dressed in straw hats with ribbon bands, a blouse, and coarse brown holland trowsers. Their numbers, and the names of the hulks they belong to are marked upon their blouses.

The author has been a daily eye-witness for some months of many of the facts detailed in this and the following chapter ; the rest has been collected from good local authorities.

The convicts are employed on the government works of the Dockyard and of Boaz Island ; the former including the works of the Royal Engineer Department. Excavating and blasting the rocks, and building storehouses constitute the principal hard labour. The less laborious occupations consist in cleaning up the hulks, attending the hospital, and acting as servants to the overseers and warders.

* In 1853 they were upwards of 1600 in number. Vide Appendix A.

This light toil is reserved for the best characters ; and they are paid the same as if on the works.

The prisoners apportioned off to Ireland Island live on board the " Medway " hulk, in the Camber. Those stationed at Boaz live on shore in strong barracks; and two hulks are moored at some distance from them, one of which, the " Tenedos," is used as a convict hospital. There are, in the Camber, two hulks beside the " Medway," in one of which, the " Dromedary," the prisoners who proceed from Boaz to work in the Dockyard get their dinners; the other is turned into a receiving house for the crews of vessels undergoing repairs. The hours of labour commence at about half-past seven A.M. in summer, and eight in winter. At noon, the prisoners are marched off to dinner on board the " Medway " and " Dromedary." They are at work again at half-past one. At six P.M. in summer, and at five in winter, labour is broken off for the day, and the prisoners return to their hulks and barracks.*

Except as a temporary measure, in cases of mutiny, or repeated attempts to escape, chains are never used.

* During *the heat* of summer, the convicts do not work between the hours of eleven A.M. and two P.M.; and care at other times is taken, as much as possible, to make them work in the shade.

About nine hours of labour in summer, and eight in winter, are the *maximum* of actual work. The convicts who arrive from Boaz, to work in the Dockyard, have their hours of labour shortened by the time it takes them to march there and back.

How many thousands are there of good character in London, whose hours of labour exceed those of these condemned felons ! The printers' devils, for instance, who work from eight in the morning, till eight at night, with only one hour's relaxation for dinner, undergo more severe and unhealthy toil than any out-of-door convict labour practised at the present day.

To be sure there is the loss of liberty in the convict's case. But that, as hitherto regulated for a long time, is shorn of much of its terrors ; sentences being usually shortened, more than one half, by good behaviour. The convicts also enjoy the best medical and clerical advice and assistance. Those who come out with delicate constitutions escape hard labour. Thus many pass most of their time in hospital, where they average at the rate of about seven or eight per cent. At the same station not more than three or four per cent. of the garrison are usually on the sick list. But then it must be remembered that army recruits are not passed if

they have anything serious the matter with them; whereas the ranks of the convicts are as open to the sickly and the deformed as to the healthy and able-bodied classes. Convicts who arrive well seldom fall sick (provided of course no fever, such as that in 1853, is raging in the islands); but many who arrive in delicate health become well and strong in a short time.

The prisoners are visited by clergymen — according to their different persuasions. On Sunday afternoons, psalms, from the “Medway” hulk, resound through the Dockyard; and this strange church music would be gratifying to every generous mind, if its sincerity and spontaneity could confidently be relied on.

If we compare the food and work of the convicts with those of the soldiers on guard and on sentry in the same island, the position of the former will excite no compassion in the tenderest breast.

The convict is allowed daily one pound and eleven ounces of bread, and one pound and a quarter of meat, and half a gill of rum.* He has

* As rum is not necessary to health, why is it allowed to criminals? If meant to give extra strength for labour, the value of the prescription is more than doubtful.

cocoa sweetened for breakfast, and a supper equally good.

The soldier is limited to one pound of bread and one pound of meat, and buys his own groceries and liquor.

The writer was assured, by an eye-witness, that on the first serving out of the increased allowance of bread (for it used to be only one pound) the convicts, in contempt, threw the surplus overboard.

Can the reader avoid a smile at Sydney Smith's description of a convict's fare?—"Porridge for breakfast, bread and water for dinner," &c.

The convict at Bermuda passes every night (not "on straw" but) comfortably in bed. The soldier, at the same station, passes every fourth, sometimes every third night on guard and on sentry. And one of the most life-wearing of occupations is that of a night sentinel; the soldier being on sentry two out of every six hours (night and day) whilst on guard.

These facts have long been so well appreciated by soldiers, that crimes were, formerly, not unfrequently committed by them with the express desire of being transported. Instances have occurred in regiments, even within the last few

years, of soldiers being shot for crimes of violence committed to secure a sentence of transportation. But in some cases, the disappointment of a good flogging has been sufficient to check these longings for a change to the hulks. Such soldiers, if associated with convicts, have only themselves to blame, and are undeserving of compassion. But there is a class of military criminals whom it is highly unjust to imprison with thieves and murderers. I allude to deserters. For desertion, a soldier is sometimes transported like a common felon. The usual sentence hitherto inflicted by courts-martial was seven years. That, in fact, became three; after which, the soldier obtained his liberty (and as will be explained hereafter) with a sum of money in his pocket.

As a deterring measure, the prospect of this result was not calculated to frighten a careless soldier; whilst, on the other hand, if he entered the hulks an honest man, he was not likely to leave them with the same character. The punishment was, therefore, in one point of view inadequate; and in another point excessive and unjust. By the new Articles of War, fourteen years is the least sentence of transportation which a court-martial can in future award; penal servitude at home

replacing the shorter sentences of transportation. But there are many cases, as already intimated, where it is most cruel to treat a deserter like an ordinary felon.

Amongst the convicts at Ireland Island there are three soldiers from the regiment now quartered at the same place. One of these men arrived last year with a very bad cargo of convicts. His has been a truly sad case. He had been brought up in the regiment from a child; he was a bandsman, and only twenty-two years of age, when he attempted to desert from Canada to the United States. He was taken immediately, and, of course, tried by a court-martial. It was his first offence of the kind, and only an unsuccessful attempt.

In Great Britain or Ireland, a first case of desertion is never — a second rarely — a third not always — visited with transportation. A first offence, indeed, is seldom punished by much more than a month's or six weeks' imprisonment.

In Canada it is otherwise. *There*, desertions are so frequent, and successful (being systematically encouraged by brother Jonathan), that stern examples are considered absolutely necessary. The punishment, therefore, is greatest where the temp-

tation is greatest: military logic being rather practical than theoretical in such matters.

This poor bandboy, therefore, for one attempt at desertion, under great temptations, received a sentence that, for three actual desertions, at home, would never have been dealt to him. Fourteen years' transportation! And what makes the matter worse, *he* (as will be shortly explained) cannot hope, by the new rules, to shorten one week of that long doom. Fourteen years for an offence that in England would have been visited by a six weeks' imprisonment, and *that* in a military prison uncontaminated with convicted thieves and murderers.*

It does not appear that this poor young fellow had (at least when he first entered the hulks) anything of the felon in his composition. He attempted only what hundreds of his comrades succeeded in effecting, of which every regiment quartered in Canada, time out of mind, has had similar experience. And now whilst most of his fellow-criminals are fat, flourishing, and tolerably contented, he is visibly pining away. His former brother bandsmen, who contrived to see and speak

* It must also be borne in mind, that the convicts now sent to Bermuda, are generally the very worst criminals.

with him, described him as having already, in two years' time, become "an old man;" "looked," they said, "twice his age."

Such an example does no good. Not one in twenty of soldiers who desert from Canada are ever retaken; since, once across the frontier, they are perfectly safe. Justice is here, therefore, simply individual vengeance. The temptations of the United States are too great, and the value of the British soldier's position is too small to be affected by the severity of a punishment, which the offenders run but little risk of incurring.

The prison authorities, high and low, lament the unnecessary degradation of persons guilty only of military crimes, to the level of ordinary felons. They do their best to remedy the evil by giving to such of the military convicts as behave well the posts of wardsmen, with light work in the hulks, and a kind of superintendence (under the official warders) over their fellow-prisoners. But still, when locked up together for the night, there is no separation whatever.

The convicts are allowed by the Government three pence a day for a certain amount of work. One penny of this is spent for them in extra groceries, the other two pence accumulate for

their benefit till they regain their liberty. Their daily work, however, when possible, is so measured, that a prisoner (if he please, and is a good workman) can by extra labour, earn six pence instead of three pence a day; and many of them avail themselves of this advantage. Thus, after ten years of a mild imprisonment, a murderer, whose sentence of death has been commuted to a nominal transportation for life, may not only again be let loose on society, but be dismissed with thirty or even forty pounds in his pocket.*

To the individual it is doubtless a great benefit to be discharged with a sum of money, with which, if he please, he can again start honestly in life; but, as an example, this cannot tend to discourage crime. In most cases; these men, had they remained honest, would never have made the sums which they have realised in prison, where saving is a compulsory measure.

There are three schoolmasters provided for the convicts. A certain number of the latter are every day kept off work, to learn spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, according to their abilities and previous acquirements. The turn of each

* The new regulations, concerning the carrying out of sentences fully, apply only to convicts sentenced since those regulations were made.

convict for schooling comes round about once a week; and he is paid just as when at hard labour on the works. A few may become, by these means, cleverer rogues than they were; but there is nothing very reformatory in the mere rudiments of secular education.*

Treated as they have hitherto been, the convicts generally are not much inclined to attempt to escape, especially as, in Bermuda, complete success is nearly impossible. The only chance is by day. At night the lights are put out at nine in summer and at eight in winter; the prisoners having been previously locked up at supper time. The decks are also visited every half hour by a warder. An attempt, therefore, to escape by night, has rarely been made, and when made has been followed by immediate detection and apprehension. By day, however, efforts of the kind have often met with temporary success. But very rare has been the case in which the fugitive has not been recaptured before he could get entirely clear of the Islands.

* Mr. Adderley M.P., in his very able pamphlet, "Punishment is not Education," observes very justly, "The mere furnishing a man with skill and intellectual advancement may in no way morally improve him, though we should sacrifice all proper punishment to the object."

Stories are current in Somerset of escaped convicts in former days living in the woods of that pretty island, and forcing, under threats of murder, timid ladies to deposit for them food and drink at night outside their thresholds.

There is now, amongst the prisoners in the "Medway" hulk, a very determined character, who enjoys the sobriquet of *Sydney Jack*, but whose real name is John Smith. He was one of the four men concerned in the murder of a Berkshire clergyman a few years ago, which caused at the time considerable sensation in England; his brother was another of the four. John, turning king's evidence, saved his own life by sacrificing that of his brother; but he was nevertheless transported for life. He was sent to Sydney. Escaping thence, he was recaptured, and sent out to Bermuda. Since his arrival at the latter place he has already made two desperate attempts to escape.

On the first occasion, Sydney Jack started with four others; but he soon separated from the rest, who were captured. He seized a sailing boat near the ferry at St. George's, provisioned it by robbing a house, and put to sea by himself. At first he took a south course; when, the wind

changing, he was driven back to Bermuda. There, he mistook the lighthouse for the lantern of a ship. He had formerly been a sailor, but was probably the worse for liquor at this time. Finally, after an absence of many days, he was recaptured by a whaler. The fishermen refused his bribes, preferring the safer government reward; which is said, however, to have been only three pounds.

After this, Sydney Jack was compelled to work in irons. One Sunday, he, and two other men, also ironed, started from the Dockyard, under the charge of a warder, to proceed to church at Boaz. They went some minutes ahead of the main body of the prisoners, as their manacled limbs impeded their progress.

Soon after passing the Naval Hospital, Jack and his comrades suddenly seized the warder, and bound him to a tree; Jack brandishing a long knife, and threatening death if the slightest noise or resistance should be made — for all the convicts carry knives. The rascals then hastened to relieve each other of their irons; which does not appear to have been a very difficult task. They then jumped into the hospital boat, which they supposed was waiting, as usual, to take the doctor and

his wife to the church in the Dockyard. They were, however, nearly capsized on entering it, for fortunately, in order to repair the boat, all the ballast had been landed a day or two previously. They were, therefore, compelled to reland, and to hide themselves in the woods of that picturesque locality. Here they were seen and apprehended by some soldiers of the garrison who happened to be passing that way.

Thus ended Sydney Jack's second attempt at evasion from Bermuda: after which he was more heavily ironed than ever. But a short probation of apparently good conduct is very efficacious. Jack is now about without irons, and enjoys all the same advantages as his comrades, excepting that he will have to work out some more months of his nominal sentence than would otherwise have been the case. Jack is another proof of the truth of the proverb regarding smooth water; for in outward appearance, he is a quiet inoffensive man.

The warders are seldom aware of the previous histories of the prisoners committed to their charge, unless when made notorious by the English press. Amongst themselves, the convicts very seldom mention the causes of their banish-

ment; and they know little or nothing of each others' former adventures.

A convict has no confidence in his fellow-prisoners; and thus plots and conspiracies have, fortunately, a very small chance of success. The only danger, *hitherto*, has been the possibility of a sudden unpremeditated outbreak, when any cause of complaint, real or imagined, exists among them; for they are as jealous of their rights and privileges as any of her Majesty's non-felonious subjects can possibly be, as the following example will testify.

When, about seven years ago, Mitchell, the *vitriol* hero, was a convict in Bermuda, he was treated with extraordinary leniency. He was neither put to the work, nor compelled to wear the dress of a convict. Whilst the other prisoners were at hard labour in the Dockyard, in the prison costume, Mitchell might be seen pacing the deck of the hulk, in his own clothes, like a private gentleman.

The British convicts were highly indignant at what they considered an instance of unjust partiality. They loudly declared, that as the sentences in Mitchell's case and their own cases had been similar, the punishment should also be similar.

The Irish convicts, on the other hand, maintained, as stoutly, that the distinction, made in favour of *their* patriot, was a very proper one; as the victim of tyranny could not be considered an ordinary felon. The English and Irish convicts never agree well together; and this bone of contention aggravated their hostile feelings to a degree that occasioned considerable anxiety to the responsible authorities.

The Governor found himself placed in the most awkward position; but he was relieved from it by the delicate health of Mitchell, which furnished a good excuse for removing him to the hospital hulk, near Boaz Island. That hulk was moored at some hundreds of yards from land, and Mitchell was left there comparatively unguarded. These facts became known to certain sympathisers in New York; some of whom (it was soon after reported) were preparing to carry off, by surprise, the persecuted patriot.

At that time a steamer plied between New York and Bermuda. The sympathisers projected seizing the steamer when leaving New York, and proceeding in it to Bermuda. Once there (and at the Dockyard, where the steamer was in the habit

of stopping), one of the steamer's boats was to have been sent to the hulk to carry off Mitchell.

But even had the plot succeeded thus far, its ultimate success was highly improbable. Mitchell's evasion could not well have remained, for many minutes, a secret from the Dockyard authorities ; and the telegraph would soon have placed the guns at St. George's in readiness to sink the steamer on its return.

When Governor Elliott was informed of this notable plan, by the Governor of Nova Scotia, he caused Mitchell to be taken from the hulk to a place of safety. Soon, however, he imagined that the Yankee conspirators might, in revenge for their frustrated plans, endeavour to carry off the Governor himself as a hostage ; though it must be confessed that he appears to have somewhat over-rated his own importance and the difficulty of supplying his place.

His Excellency caused a force of the 42nd Highlanders, under the command of a field officer, to be encamped near Government House, for the defence of his person. And, when the little steamer actually arrived, it was received with arrangements of such extreme caution as certainly

implied very little confidence in the strength of the fortress.

There was not, however, a single sympathiser on board the steamer; nor indeed had any plan of the kind apprehended ever been really formed, in spite of much filibustering vapour at Yankee public meetings.

Nevertheless, Mitchell was soon after removed from Bermuda and sent to the Cape. He was, however, one of the batch which the colonists refused to receive there. Finally, he was carried to Australia. There, as is well known, he subsequently, by treachery, obtained his freedom; and, at the same time, the contempt of every honourable mind.

Some years ago, a conspiracy was formed amongst the convicts at Bermuda, to rush upon the main guard, disarm it, and then surprise the small garrison above. The plot was betrayed by one of the convicts. In consequence, an inner barrier was built half-way up to the barracks, and a sentinel placed behind it. But these precautions have long been considered unnecessary.

Hitherto, however small the garrison, whilst a single ship of war was in the harbour, an outbreak was considered quite out of the question, espe-

cially as the hope of shortening punishment, by good conduct, has tended both to restrain violence and to multiply informers amongst the prisoners.

The new regulation (introduced for the first time last year), and which will be explained in the next chapter, may possibly, when fully carried out, lessen considerably the present amount of confidence and security, as far as regards the conduct and subordination of the convicts in Bermuda. But, nevertheless, the author feels assured that great advantages will eventually result from the system of enforcing, without mitigation, the sentences passed by the courts of justice; for it cannot be too often repeated, that the certainty of punishment is even more important than its severity, in deterring men from the commission of crimes. What, indeed, could be more injurious or more ridiculous than the spectacle of judges pronouncing day after day severe dooms of transportation, which they themselves, which the criminals at the bar, which the well-informed amongst the spectators, all knew to be mere shams, both as to the named duration and the implied severity of the punishment?

Hypocrisy at the hulks will soon be out of fashion, when sighs, long faces, and cunning lies

cannot shorten imprisonment by a single hour. At the same time, when the day of liberation legally arrives, it is still in the power of Government to make a judicious distinction in favour of those criminals who may have shown signs of reformation, by endeavouring to find for them some honest and remunerative labour, and by furnishing them with commendatory certificates of good conduct whilst in prison.

CHAP. XII.

THE OLD AND NEW REGULATIONS. — THE FLOGGING OF PRISONERS. — FORMER MALPRACTICES. — INSUFFICIENT SUPERVISION. — A GREAT FIRE. — PRISONERS SUSPECTED OF ARSON. — RUMOURS OF INTENDED OUTBREAK. — SYDNEY JACK AGAIN. — THE PAINTER KIRWAN. — GARRETT THE GREAT GOLD DUST ROBBER. — THE “PEARL” BARQUE. — FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY CONVICTS LET LOOSE IN ENGLAND IN A FEW MONTHS. — THE CONVICT AND THE (COLOURED) LADY. — HOW TO WIN GOLDEN OPINIONS IN ENGLAND. — THE “CASTLE EDEN’S” BATCH OF CONVICTS. — THEIR OUTRAGEOUS BEHAVIOUR. — THEIR CONDUCT IN A GALE. — CONTINUED MISCONDUCT. — PROBABLE EFFECTS OF THE NEW REGULATIONS. — INCREASE OF CRIME IN ENGLAND. — DIFFICULTIES IN SETTLING THE QUESTION. — THE ONLY BASIS FOR REFORMING THE SO-CALLED CRIMINAL CLASSES.

Up to last spring (1856) sentences of transportation had been, for many years, in a great measure nominal. No convict, unless he behaved very ill indeed—and the worst men often behave the best in prison—ever completed his full sentence. Transportation for life thus became limited, usually, to ten years. Fourteen years meant, perhaps, six; ten meant four; and seven, three. By far the greater part of the prisoners at Bermuda are still upon this footing. Those that behave ill, are, for each serious

offence, given one month, or two months' longer imprisonment; taking care, of course, that the total original sentence is never exceeded; of which, indeed, there has been, for a long time, but little danger.*

Apparently, however, Government is dissatisfied with past experiments. For a large batch of convicts that arrived in the "Castle Eden" last year, were sent out with the instruction that they were to complete their full term of sentence without mitigation. The luckless bandboy of the "Cameronians" (mentioned in the last chapter) unfortunately went out with this batch; and thus the hopes of mitigation—in his case so well merited—are cut off from him altogether. In fact, murderers and burglars living in the same hulk, are, at present, cheered by hopes denied to him, who, in comparison with them, must be considered an innocent youth.

Except, however, on the one point of duration

* Since the above sentence was *first* written, the author has read in Mr. Adderley's pamphlet a good description of the uncertain meaning long attached to a sentence of transportation. "Transportation, after many vague experiments in giving it definite and effective form, had broken down into a variegated series of treatment rather than any definite or recognisable mode of punishment."

of sentence, the convicts, on the new system, will share all the comforts and pecuniary advantages of the old system. But the exception is so important, that it would be only just, as well as prudent, not to intermingle prisoners punished under such different regulations.

When flogging is resorted to on board the hulks, or in convict barracks, a military party is present to preserve order.* This custom arose from the following circumstances.

About seven years ago, when a prisoner had been sentenced to be flogged, his comrades mutinied, and would not suffer the punishment to be inflicted. At last the warders fired upon the rioters. One was killed, and several were wounded. It was subsequently discovered that the preliminary reading of an admonitory order had not taken place, according to rule. In consequence of this neglect, one of the prison functionaries was dismissed from his post by the then Governor of Bermuda.

* The author was astonished to find so able a man as Mr. Adderley advocating *protracted* corporal punishments, such as "*three lashes a day for a week*," a practice that would never be tolerated by any but slave-holders. The twenty-one lashes at once would be far less cruel and at least as effective. Judge Jeffries employed repeated floggings.

The warders are, generally speaking, most respectable men ; but, like all persons in subordinate authority, they require constant and active supervision. They were for years in the habit of profiting by the sale of the private manufactures of the prisoners. Shoes were, in this manner, till lately, a regular article of traffic. In spite of repeated orders, these practices, so destructive to discipline and good order, were long persisted in. The warders whilst selling these articles were accused of keeping for themselves the greater part of the price ; but this and other abuses have, I believe, been effectually rooted out by the present Governor.

The prisoners, whilst at labour in the Dockyard or on the roads, are not always sufficiently watched. They have been sometimes found chasing and pelting each other with stones.* Few ladies like to walk out on Ireland Island till after working hours, even when protected by a gentleman, in consequence of having to pass through

* In September, 1856, three convicts contrived to elude observation, and proceeded to the east end of Boaz to steal fish. They were seen filling a basket from a fishing-net, and were made prisoners by the soldiers of the west-end guard of Ireland Island.

such numbers of convicts ; fewer ladies still have the boldness to pass through them unescorted. If they do so, they must expect at least verbal insults, or disrespectful remarks.

There are not, even now, warders sufficient to keep a constant supervision over the convicts whilst at work. The latter, according to the nature of their labour, are partly collected in gangs and partly scattered and isolated. The supervision is, however, stricter now than it was at the time of the occurrence about to be narrated, there being then a great number of vacancies amongst the warders, which have since been filled up.*

On the 13th of June, 1855, a destructive fire broke out, soon after six o'clock in the evening, in a large unfinished storehouse in the Dockyard. The convicts had scarcely left for the day before the alarm was given. The overseer of the " Medway " hulk, in the Camber, immediately let loose all his gang, upwards of 600 in number, to assist in extinguishing the flames. Those from Boaz soon arrived, increasing the total strength of the

* The system of warders has just undergone some improvements. In future they are to wear uniform, and be subject to discipline.

prisoners to about 1000. By seven o'clock the sun had set, and all was soon darkness, except where lit up by the conflagration.

The prisoners were certainly very useful on this occasion. To their exertions it was principally owing that the flames did but little mischief to more than the one great building, which was quite consumed. The most active convicts climbed boldly upon the roofs contiguous to the fire, and directed the play of the water ; whilst the bulk were employed in forming lanes, and rapidly passing buckets to the engines, in the French fashion.

But, unfortunately, it was even then suspected, that some convict had caused the conflagration. The sudden outbreak of the fire, in a building where the prisoners had just been at work, the wonderful rapidity with which the flames had extended from one end of it to the other, could scarcely be accounted for by accidental causes. These suspicions were subsequently confirmed by the result of a regular and patient inquiry into the cause and origin of the fire, which was instituted by the Governor.

Whilst the convicts, the Dockyard workmen, and the soldiers, were all at work extinguishing the flames, a report spread amongst the latter that

the prisoners intended to rise. At this time it should be observed, that not a single vessel of war was stationed in the Bermudian waters. Some of the soldiers went to their commanding officer, and reported to him the suspicious conversations which they had overheard. Exclusive of guards and sentinels, a reserve of about thirty soldiers was obtained only by ordering all the officers' servants, and others in temporary civil employments, to proceed to the barracks to be ready to turn out as soldiers. There were also about a dozen available artillerymen. The officer commanding the little garrison directed, therefore, a light gun to be in readiness, to be loaded with grape-shot, at a moment's notice, if necessary. The gun was never loaded.

If the intention to break out ever really existed, it was evidently soon abandoned ; and, generally speaking, the prisoners behaved very well. There were however, as was to be expected, some glaring exceptions. At one spot, a party of prisoners were discovered in the act of breaking in the door of a building unconnected with the fire. They took to flight on finding themselves observed. Another party stole, and got drunk upon some

wine kept in an old storehouse for sacramental purposes.

The total value of the damage done by the fire was estimated at nearly 9000*l.* sterling. In spite of the offer of ample rewards, the cause has never been discovered.

Our old friend Sydney Jack was up and stirring some time after the fire, petitioning the authorities to shorten his and his comrades' terms of imprisonment for their conduct on that occasion, and complaining that the Home Government had never even thanked them for their exertions. Unfortunately for Jack, many suspect that he was himself the incendiary. Not that there was anything like evidence against him; but, from the determination and secrecy with which the arson was effected and the fact that offers of rewards have had no effect, it is suspected that a single convict was alone guilty. One of the witnesses at the inquiry stated, indeed, that he had seen a prisoner running along the upper beams of the building about ten minutes before the flames broke out. Now, if there is any one single convict who could plot and carry out so desperate a measure by himself, that man is Sydney Jack. If this suspicion should ever be proved to

have been well founded ; the bold plan of firing a house, and then earning freedom by zeal and labour in trying to extinguish the flames, will obtain Sydney Jack a renown that must throw his past honours into immeasurable shade. However, he has not yet, in spite of all his verbal and epistolary exertions, met with any success.* His letters must have been written for him, as he is described as completely illiterate.

Amongst the prisoners at Boaz Island is the painter Kirwan, who was sentenced to be hanged some years ago for the murder of his wife at Ireland Eye, near Dublin. He was saved from the gibbet, chiefly by the exertions of the fourth estate. But he maintains that he had no justice dealt to him : for that, if guilty, he ought to have been hanged, and if innocent, he should have been set at liberty. He has, at all events, been treated with great

* Sydney Jack should write at once to Mr. Digby Seymour, M.P. That gentleman evidently considers that assisting to extinguish a fire is a purgatorial process, cleansing from all crime ; and in answer to an appeal from Sydney Jack, he would certainly write to "The Times," suggesting the immediate liberation of that worthy and the thousand "*unfortunates*" who aided at the dockyard fire. Poor fellows ! They would gladly return to England to "*work*" — to use their own graphic expression.

leniency; having never undergone much hard labour. A convenient sore leg has been of great service to him. He has only been employed in light duties. For some time he was clerk in the hospital hulk at Boaz. As he had the good fortune to arrive during the old system, he will doubtless, in a few years, return to the bosom of that second wife, whom he married so soon after the death of the first.

“Indeed, it followed hard upon. . .

Thrift, thrift, — the funeral bak’d meats,

Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.”

The year before last, Garrett, the perpetrator of the famous *gold-dust* robbery, obtained his liberty. His exile had been considerably shortened by that appearance of good conduct which has so long been irresistible to philanthropical jailers and eloquent chaplains, too easily deceived by their benevolent wishes.

This man, on Kirwan’s first appearance in the Somers’ Islands, called upon him and treated him with the respect that (according to Milton) prevails *in another place*, when addressing Satan. For Garrett,

“bowing low

As to superior spirits is wont in *jail*,

Where honour due and rev’rence none neglect,”

proceeded to address the distinguished stranger. He informed him that he (Garrett) had hitherto been considered the chief of the place ; but that he now resigned that honour to Kirwan ; believing doubtless, that,

“To reign is worth ambition, though in *jail*.”

He thus also delicately intimated that a mere robber could not compete in dignity with a famous murderer. It is said that Kirwan was highly indignant at this extraordinary compliment.

At his departure for England in 1855, Garrett, on taking leave of his felonious friends, informed them that he was going to enjoy himself on the Continent, where his wife awaited him with the proceeds of the gold-dust robbery, for which he had been exiled !

His subsequent career may be told in a few words. He emigrated to Melbourne, where he was, very soon afterwards, convicted of participating in a great bank robbery. He has been sentenced to ten years penal servitude in that colony. It may now, therefore, be hoped, that the too tender mother country will not again be burdened with the keep and moral education of Mr. Garrett.

The painter Kirwan's mitigated term has not yet expired. Meantime he is still occasionally allowed to cultivate his art (of *painting*) for the benefit of a favoured few.

The "Pearl," a Bermudian bark, already famous though only built last year, carried to England (in her second voyage, December, 1855) upwards of 220 returned convicts. She took only from fifteen to sixteen days to perform the voyage—one of unprecedented rapidity. For this her owners received 1000*l.*, as arranged by the Local Government. The "Castle Eden," an English vessel, brought out early last year 346 convicts. She took home again 170 convicts in January, 1856. For this her owners were paid by the English Government a total of 5000*l.* sterling, whereas half that amount would have been excellent payment.

On the 8th of September, 1856, the Bermudian barque "Sir George Seymour" started for England with 160 more convicts. Thus, it appears, that in the course of last year no less than 550 convicts returned from Bermuda alone, to be let loose in England a few months after their arrival. Probably not one of these men—however ill behaved—had com-

pleted the full sentence passed upon him by his judge, and the far greater part had had their sentences shortened by more than one half. It can hardly, therefore, be a matter of surprise, to any man of common sense, that this winter has been fertile in desperate crimes in our too lenient country. If the old axiom be true, that the certainty of punishment is more effective than its severity, how ill calculated was the system so long persisted in, to produce any satisfactory results.

One of the convicts, named Lodge, who returned to England last year, became the hero of a disgraceful romance. During the latter part of his exile, he had acted as servant to Dr. Beck of the convict establishment, who had a very good opinion of him. Lodge, whilst thus employed, made the acquaintance of a Mrs. Romeo, who kept a small huckster's shop in Ireland Island, outside the Dockyard. She was a woman of colour, and wife of a sailmaker (also of colour) who has been for twenty-five years in the service of Government. Together the Romeos had amassed a considerable sum of money. They had also three children.

Some months after Lodge's departure, Mrs. Romeo one day asked permission of her husband to

go *for a lark* to St. George's. She took her boy with her, and embarked with him on board the Halifax steamer. When the boy discovered his mother's intention of absconding, he not only refused to proceed with her, but carried back to his father, at the Dockyard, one of the boxes—unfortunately *the wrong one*. Mrs. Romeo escaped with about 800*l.* in gold, and with the title-deeds of three houses.

Mr. Romeo, on hearing the news, was in despair at the loss—not of his Juliet, but—of his money, which, at first, there appeared not to be the slightest chance of recovering. For, as he had had no suspicions of his wife's intentions, he had no clue by which he could trace the object or destination of her flight.

But the next regular mail brought out a letter for Mrs. Romeo, which her husband opened, and which fully opened his eyes to the mystery. The letter was from Lodge's mother, forwarding one which she had received from her son for that purpose. The purport of the letter was to acquaint Mrs. Romeo that Lodge had not yet recovered his freedom. It is the custom to send home a convict a few months before he is finally discharged; and thus Mrs. Romeo had made a miscalculation in expecting to be immediately joined by Lodge in

England. Her haste and impatience were her ruin—or, let us hope, her salvation. Some legal gentlemen in England were employed by her husband to find her out. They surprised Mrs. Romeo at a village in Yorkshire ; persuaded her to give up what she had left of the property purloined, and even induced her to return to Bermuda. There the author left her residing with her mother at Spanish Point, being refused permission to return to Ireland Island by the Dockyard authorities.

Whilst Mrs. Romeo was on her voyage from Halifax to Liverpool, she (according to a Huddersfield paper) charmed her fellow-passengers by “her pleasing appearance and manners.” Whilst living in England she “became a constant attendant at a Methodist chapel ;” and further, we are told that “her life appeared to be an exemplification of religious sanctity.”

The real fact appears to be, that, as Mrs. Romeo’s pockets were full of doubloons, the vulgar believed her to be immensely rich. They therefore conferred upon her the rank of “a coloured *lady*,” and were altogether in raptures about her.

If Beelzebub himself were to visit England with an appearance of wealth, we should certainly be called upon to admire the “pleasing appearance

and manners"—perhaps even the "sanctity"—of that *coloured gentleman*.

Convicts on their way home naturally behave well. On their way out it is sometimes far otherwise. The before-mentioned "Castle Eden" brought out some incorrigible ruffians, and the whole batch (being subject to the new regulations already explained) had no motive, but fear, to maintain good conduct. The want of firmness on the part of the surgeon in charge appears also to have been lamentable. The result was a scene of riot, disorder, and confusion throughout the voyage, which, if not proved by ample testimony, would seem to be almost incredible.

The convicts having threatened to kill the surgeon, if he dared to go down amongst them any more, as it was his duty to do frequently, he, instead of having the ringleaders seized and flogged, ceased to go at all below.

The military on board consisted of a captain, two subalterns, and thirty-five soldiers. They were in no way to blame for the anarchy amongst the convicts.* These were under the sole charge of

* The advocates of extreme tenderness to criminals, may now study an excellent example of its beneficial effects, in the case of the "Castle Eden" transport.

the surgeon, who would never permit an example to be made of any of them.

Thus left to themselves, they grew bold by impunity. They picked the military captain's pocket, upon his once going forward amongst them. They also kicked one of the subalterns in a manner both painful and ignominious. At one time they contrived to obtain some gunpowder, and were discovered attempting to load two of the ship's guns. These pieces were, in consequence, removed from midships to the poop. On another occasion they endeavoured to break down the barrier which separated them from the after part of the ship. But the commanding officer stationed his men on the poop with loaded arms, and pointed two guns, charged with grape-shot, at the ruffians, which measures effectually checked, without bloodshed, their desperate designs. After this, a few only of the prisoners were allowed on deck at any one time; but *below*, they had it all their own way. There they amused themselves by establishing guards and posting sentinels. They got up pugilistic encounters, with regular rounds and seconds, making spread eagles of those who refused to fight. They also held jocular court-martial, which were, however, no joke to those

who were condemned by them; for sentences of flagellation were carried into immediate effect with great severity. If justice had guided their decisions, their energy would have compensated for the weakness of the surgeon in charge. But it is but too probable that the worst men flogged the better ones for not being as bad as themselves.

On arriving at Bermuda, owing to contrary winds, the "Castle Eden" was compelled, in the first instance, to anchor at Murray's anchorage to the north of St. George's. Whilst there, a violent storm from the north-west nearly drove the ship ashore. One of the cables gave way; and the danger of losing the remaining anchor appeared for some time imminent. It was found necessary, not only to keep all the prisoners below, but to fasten down the holds. The yellings, the entreaties of these wretches, lately so desperate, petitioning to be given a chance for their lives, were of necessity sternly disregarded. At last, when the weather had moderated a little, the vessel advanced towards the Dockyard; but overtaken by darkness, and afraid of getting on the rocks, it anchored further off than usual.

Here, however, almost within hail of two men-of-war, and in sight of their final destination, it

might be supposed that the convicts would not have dared to give further trouble; but the long established anarchy appeared determined to resist, to the last, all order.

That night the prisoners were so violent, that the surgeon sent off to the senior naval officer for assistance. Captain Seymour of the "Pembroke" went on board, in person, with a party of sailors and marines. The presence of this reinforcement sufficed to overawe the rioters. Captain Seymour went down boldly amongst them, accompanied by the surgeon. They, at first, crowded round the officers, but when quietly told to go back to their mess-tables, the greater part obeyed immediately. The naval captain made them a speech to which they listened attentively, but in the midst of it, the surgeon seized hold of a convict, and shouted, "I've got you, you rascal!" At the same moment the gallant captain felt a hand suddenly withdrawn from his pocket. The thief, however, broke loose from the surgeon, and hid himself in the crowd of his comrades. The captain's pocket was not picked, because there was nothing in it.

Two days later, nevertheless, the whole batch of prisoners were landed without any difficulty or disturbance. They were distributed between the

hulk in the camber and the convict barracks at Boaz. About a month after their arrival, four of this batch were flogged at Boaz for insubordination, and other examples were subsequently made of more of them. Yet, on the whole, up to the author's departure, they had *generally* behaved as well as the other convicts. So effective is a rigid and unswerving discipline, even with the most desperate characters. It appears, however, reasonable to expect that when (as must eventually be the case) all the convicts at Bermuda will come under the new system of unmitigated sentences, it will not be safe to trust them together in large bodies, under slight supervision, as is at present permitted, with impunity.

It is evident that the system of shortening sentences, according to the conduct of the prisoners whilst in durance, has completely failed; and, in consequence, it has been abandoned by the Government.

The absurdly indulgent diet of the prisoners, the practice of herding them together in great numbers, irrespective of character and conduct, and their facilities for making money, are still open questions, as regards any benefit that accrues

thereby, either to the safety of the public or to the reformation of the offenders. If persisted in, as a general measure, the worst class of prisoners, at all events,—such as are generally sent to Bermuda—should be excepted from its benefits.

It is much to be feared that crime is increasing in England, and that detection does not make equal progress. For though it is easy to collect statistics of criminals in prison, yet undetected—often unreported—crimes are not so easily reckoned. In these matters, local statistics are often very deceptive. It is true, for instance, that hitherto no great number of convicts have been sent for the second time to Bermuda. But that is no proof that those who do not return become honest men. There are so many prisons in the world—locomotion is now so easy—and felons take so many *aliases*, that accurate estimates of the numbers of relapsed convicts, could be obtained only with great difficulty and trouble. For instance the fact that the convict Garrett has become again a condemned felon in Melbourne is known chiefly because of the greatness and celebrity of his robberies. The histories of ordinary felons are not so easily collected. Besides.

discharged convicts often grow wary, and employ pupils to incur the risks, whilst they share the profits in safety.

The English public is distracted by a multiplicity of projects for settling the much agitated question of the treatment of criminals*, as to whether, finally, the main object is to be the defence of society, the reformation of its enemies, or a combination of both those measures.

When England has had a sufficient personal experience of the "work" to which hastily released convicts betake themselves with a stronger gusto than ever, she will learn to doubt official statistics pregnant with malefactors reformed upon paper. Then, we may again hope that common sense will regain her empire over maudlin sensibility. Criminals of a deep die cannot be mollified, any more than great wars can be carried on, with rose-water. Before a Howard and a Fry interfered in the cause of humanity, even the

* For some years the honest poor have been quite neglected, *in comparison* with interesting and "unfortunate" cut-throats and robbers.

"Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquis : probitas laudatur, et alget."

innocent were often cruelly treated in prison ; but for many years, the national bias has tended towards the other extreme, and the guilty have been treated as unfortunate beings, claiming an especial degree of sympathy and kindness.* Let us hope that the happy medium may yet be found between legal cruelty and legal impunity to crime ; but let us not imagine that mere education will either reform great criminals, or even prevent great crimes for the future.

The education of the poorest classes (generally considered, in spite of much villany in high places, the chief nurseries of crime) is believed by many persons to be the infallible remedy for which so many have vainly been seeking. The author cannot adopt this opinion unless subject to a condition, which is not at present much in fashion in England. Education, *to be relied upon as a reformatory agent of the masses*, must be founded on that consoling basis, which holds out to the poor and needy of this passing world especial hopes of eternal riches in the next.

To attempt to win the destitute to virtue by

* In former days robbers were hanged ; but at present the only necks in danger are those of the robbed.

any other means — however brilliant in theory and alluring in practice — would be like offering to starving men that “fruitage fair to sight,” which deceived our first parents who

“fondly thinking to allay
Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit
Chew’d bitter ashes.”

CHAP. XIII.

NOBLE LOGIC. — A CROTCHETTY STATESMAN. — CIVIL AUTHORITIES ON PREPARATION FOR WAR. — WHAT THE BERMUDAS ARE, AND OUGHT TO BE. — ENGLAND'S RIGHT AND MOTIVE TO INTERFERE. — LOCAL REFORM IMPOSSIBLE. — CONNEXION BETWEEN BERMUDA AND THE STATES. — NECESSARY CONCENTRATION OF AUTHORITY. — IMPERFECT DEFENCES. — VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS. — VALUE OF THE ISLANDS. — THE CONVICTS A MATTER OF ANXIETY. — GRIEVANCES OF THE LINE. — ADVANTAGE OF HAVING PICKED CORPS. — REGIMENTAL MAJORS OF THE LINE ILL USED IF POOR. — FAVOUR SHOWN TO GUARDS GENERALLY. — THE COUNTRY NOT BENEFITED THEREBY. — PROPOSED MOTTO FOR A PART OF THE LINE. — A GOOD TIME COMING. — A FUTURE PICTURE.

A FEW months ago, a noble lord made, "in a certain place," a speech, the essence of which may be summed up in the following sentence: —

"England unprepared has overcome Russia prepared, therefore it is better to be unprepared than prepared." If the Archbishop of Dublin was present at the delivery of this original opinion; we may expect, that the future editions of His Grace's work on logic, will contain a lordly example of *Ignoratio elenchi*, or "irrelevant conclusion."

If the premises of the noble lord had been true, his conclusion would still have been palpably false. But unfortunately his lordship's premises were directly opposed to notorious facts. England did not overcome Russia — though England, France, Sardinia, and Turkey, with the moral support of Austria, succeeded in making a peace of no very glorious character. Valour enough England did show in that bloody war. But skill and conduct ! The less said on that subject the better.

The noble sophist, when in office, exerted himself, with considerable success, to reduce the army to a state of utter inefficiency. Next, when war was declared he prophesied nothing but evil. Lastly, when peace is obtained (chiefly, as regards England's share), by unprecedented exertions in arming, his lordship indirectly claims the merit, as the result of his own reckless reductions of our military strength !

When such crochetty men are permitted to rule a state, no wonder that it totters in time of difficulty, and is forced to lean for support upon the favour of its ancient enemies.

If in a free state like England, civilians must unavoidably regulate our military defences ; at all events, they should be men of judgment and ability.

In all ages there have been great men, who, though not warriors, have been held to be good authorities in the general theory of national defence. Take three as examples in different countries and ages — Josephus *, Machiavel, and Adam Smith. Two of these lived a long time ago. But even from the oldest of them many modern statesmen might learn something useful ; so little is there new under the sun.

The author prefers to cite *civil* authorities, as not open to the charge of interested motives in advocating military defences ; and also because no one can doubt what military authorities, from Hannibal to the Duke of Wellington, have opined on such subjects.

Josephus says, — “ And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace everywhere. . . . he *disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay* . . . whilst the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace . . . that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should re-

* Josephus certainly was engaged in many combats, as chief ruler of some parts of Judæa ; but not being a professional soldier, is styled in the text a *civil* authority, though he was less exclusively so than Machiavel and the others.

quire it." Josephus then proceeds to relate (as the necessary consequence of his false economy) the defeat and ruin of Demetrius.* According to the same authority, even King David, though often miraculously assisted, yet, studied and practised military rules as fully as if he had depended on them solely for success.

Again, if we credit Machiavel (a very able writer, whatever may be thought of his morality), Italy lost her independence from neglecting the arts of war, in her eager pursuit of the arts of peace.

Some years ago, the peaceful Wordsworth, in lines which many of his admirers will remember, expressed his fears that the love of wealth might endanger the continued greatness of his country; and before his time, Dr. Johnson had also given vent to similar apprehensions.

Another civilian — a greater political authority than any of those above quoted — thus wrote about a century ago : — " An industrious and upon that account wealthy nation is of all nations the most likely to be attacked : and unless the state takes

* Gibbon, also (who was *wise in his generation*), tells us that the Emperor Hadrian and his successor " preserved peace by a constant preparation for war."

some new measure for the public defence, the natural habits of the people render them altogether incapable of defending themselves." *

But to return to the Bermudas. The reader has seen what they have been and what they are. To sum up. *Firstly*; commercially speaking, the vast sums expended and now expending in this colony, are sunk for ever to the imperial tax payers.

Secondly; the natives contribute nothing to, and are not much concerned in, the defence of their country.

Thirdly; the colony itself can never rise much higher than its present standard, in population or intrinsic value.

Fourthly; to England, Bermuda is either a strong naval and military fortress and depôt, or it is not worth one year's cost, and should be abandoned at once and for ever.

Fifthly, and lastly; if Bermuda be a valuable possession, its proper government becomes a matter of great importance. What Bermuda ought to be has therefore next to be considered.

Our present theory is, that all the colonies are

* Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations.

held by Great Britain in merely temporary guardianship; and that the leading-strings are to be snapped as soon as ever the political progeny can walk and act by themselves. This is a noble and generous idea. A colony like Australia, for instance,—pregnant with a great political future,—discussing the important question of allegiance and independence, and England calmly looking on, certainly wears the aspect of a new and noble phase of liberty and civilisation. Reversing the selfishness of pagan Rome, who gradually prepared her dependants, for slavery, Christian England voluntarily prepares her colonies for eventual independence. Nothing can be more noble than such a policy, on suitable occasions. But what would be sublime towards a colony like Canada, becomes, when applied to Bermuda, simply ridiculous.

The warmest admirers of the principle of self-government will scarcely deny that a colony, to claim such a privilege with any degree of reason, should be able to defend, in some measure, its own independence, or at all events contribute thereto. Bermuda does neither. It does not even pay three quarters of its own civil list.

Again; as Bermuda is at present necessary to England, the latter is interested in its being well

governed. It has also the right of interfering; bearing as it does about nine-tenths of the total expenses of the place.

If a reform is necessary in a constitution two hundred years old, in a place where the influence of public opinion has *little* and the fear of revolution *no* effect (the latter being impossible), how is such a reform to be effected? When none of the ordinary curbs to legislative abuses exist, it is surely laughable for the Home Government, when appealed to, by some sensible governor, to reply: "If the colony require reform, it must reform itself!"

The proper and reasonable government for Bermuda is that which prevails at Gibraltar, slightly modified with less despotic elements. A council partly elected and partly appointed by Government would insure more attention to the reasonable wishes of the inhabitants than exists in Gibraltar, and yet leave to the executive that concentration of power so indispensable to the efficiency of a military fortress.

The Colonial Parliament of Bermuda is never likely to reform itself; for to take such a step a number of persons would have to give up a public support upon which some of them are said to de-

pend chiefly for their existence. The majority of the gentlemen who now sit in the House of Assembly would, nevertheless, be, in the end, gainers, in all probability, by being relieved from duties that sadly interfere with their other avocations. The change would probably lead to an exhibition of commercial enterprise which, at present, is wholly unknown in the Somers' Islands.*

The Bermudians are, and have long been, at least as closely connected with the United States as with Great Britain. The damaged goods of the former country compete with those of England in filling their stores. There is, however, no reason to doubt the present loyalty of the colony. But a war with the country on which they so much depend for commerce, and to which many young Bermudians emigrate to make their fortunes, would

* One simple plan, to make Bermuda a fortress without injury to constitutional principles, would be to put it on the footing *nearly* of Portsmouth or Plymouth, leaving the local government to the Governor representing the Secretary of State, and allowing Bermuda to return one member to the Imperial Parliament. Thus colonies in which self-government is not feasible might yet share in the advantages of the British constitution. Of course, colonies which govern themselves, and in which, the governor is only a moderator, not a ruler, such as Canada, could have no claim or object to appoint imperial representatives.

probably stagger their allegiance, and lead to a recurrence of such circumstances as have already been mentioned in an early chapter of this volume. Moreover, in the last American war, Bermuda furnished many sailors to the enemy's fleet. But this fact need not be much dwelt upon, as too many degenerate Englishmen were also guilty of similar treason.

Many of the Bermudians, themselves, acutely feel the ridicule that attaches to their cumbrous constitution. A most intelligent member of the House of Assembly exclaimed one day to the author, with a significant smile: "After all, this is almost entirely a naval and military settlement." He spoke the simple truth. Remove the Garrison, the Dockyard, and the occasional men-of-war, and fishing villages would in a few years replace the ruined towns.

Again, if there is any colony in which the concentration of executive power is especially necessary, that colony is Bermuda. Perhaps from its being both a naval and military station, two chiefs are unavoidable. But surely that is enough. At present there are three nearly independent authorities; a colonel who is civil governor; a colonel who commands the troops; and an admiral, who is in fact governor of Ireland Island including

the Dockyard. Here we have in perfection that division of power and frittering away of responsibility, which is the death-blow not only to all "enterprises of great pith and moment," but to all good government.

Then to revert to the defences of the islands. We have 200 guns of insufficient calibre, defending a place which almost any military nation would deem worthy of a 1000 pieces of artillery. Even 200 more would go far to render it impregnable whilst provisions lasted; or two or three more martello towers would do much. It is a mistake, however, to suppose, as some do, that a few gunboats would supply every deficiency.* They could not prevent a surprise; for it would be by no means easy, even in moderate weather, to carry these boats rapidly round to the weak points which might be threatened; and even when there they might be overmatched by war steamers, which, in some places, could come within musket-shot of the shore.

A military road along the south coast, available

* Lord Dundonald is said to have originated, or adopted that idea. But the experience of the Crimea has confirmed the Duke of Wellington's estimate of land batteries. One gun ashore is worth several afloat.

for a moveable battery of artillery is an old suggestion, but would not *alone* form a sufficient protection. But enough of this subject, as the Government is taking these matters into serious consideration.

At present the Islands depend for safety on the presence of a fleet; a fact which, in war, would have a tendency to fetter the movements of the latter.

But undoubtedly the greatest difficulty in defending Bermuda for any length of time would be the provisioning the garrison when the American markets were closed. The climate makes it very difficult to preserve salt meat for more than a year *, and cattle and sheep are brought only from the United States. The garrison would, after a time, be compelled to live on fish and vegetables; for poultry in war would soon be exhausted.†

* Josephus and other writers of antiquity, mention cases of besieged fortresses in which provisions have been preserved in a good state for a hundred years, and this in warm climates. The Moderns, with all their sciences, have not restored this lost receipt.

† It must have been from some very patriotic Mudians indeed, that Bishop Berkeley learnt that "Beef and Mutton" were amongst the articles that made Bermuda not "less remarkable for plenty than for health."—*Vide "Proposal," &c.*

Soldiers (especially English soldiers) would not flourish long on fish, potatoes, and arrowroot, if reduced to such a diet. At present very little corn is grown in the Islands; though 200 years ago the growing of a certain quantity of wheat was imperative on every land-owner. If the colony shall be ever placed on a proper military footing, the growth of corn, if not made compulsory, should certainly be protected and encouraged.

Nevertheless, the author does not believe that even under the wisest rules the Bermudas could be preserved to Great Britain for any long period, without a decided superiority at sea. But this is surely no reason for leaving them liable to fall by a *coup-de-main*. For if our maritime superiority be indispensable to our maintaining the permanent possession of Bermuda, it is almost equally true that the permanent possession of Bermuda is indispensable to our maritime superiority in the Western Hemisphere.

If the Somers' Islands ever fall into the possession of the United States, there will be an end to the power and influence of Great Britain in the New World. It is scarcely possible to conceive a spot more convenient for assembling an expedition and despatching it to any part of the continent with secrecy and rapidity.

It must not be forgotten, whilst on the subject of defence, that the convicts now form about one eighth of the entire population of the Islands ; and that this source of weakness did not exist in either of the former wars with the United States.

Enough has been said to prove the necessity of perfecting the defences, and improving the government of Bermuda ; neither of them measures of any great difficulty.*

The first great step, however, towards the future military efficiency of Great Britain, is to carry out at home a just and impartial army reform. And this not merely as regards the private soldiers. It should begin with the officers. It is time, for instance, to attend seriously to the grievances of the Line.

The Guards' officers, with greater courage than discretion, have challenged this discussion. The Linesmen seem afraid to reply ; so great in England is the dread of, and the subservience to, the aristocracy on the part of all official persons, great and small. No wonder, when even the less shackled portion of the public take such interest in all

* The small and stationary nature of the population, and the poverty of the place, render it the easier for the British government to remodel and improve it, *in all respects*.

that concerns the titled ranks. It is true that the public often treat them as the Chinese do their idols, when angry, — namely, whip them; but they are not the less their idols. Neither, it must be confessed, is this meanness, if it be one, half so contemptible as the more universal worship of Mammon.*

The Guardsmen are generally so gentlemanlike and so well-bred, that it is not an agreeable task to make any remarks displeasing to them. But justice has too long slumbered; and a few words must now again be said in favour of the long-suffering and much injured officers of the Line in general.

* Whilst English society proclaims aloud to its votaries, "Make money, honestly *if you can*, but make money!" whilst money and merit are considered as almost synonymous terms, there can be nothing surprising in the extreme haste of Pauls, Robsons, Redpaths, and Sadleirs to become rich and to acquire at any risk, for a time at least, the respect and adulation of society. For still it may be said of numbers in modern London, as formerly in ancient Rome :

"Criminibus debent hortos, prætoria, mensas,
Argentum vetus, et stantem extra pocula caprum."

The above note had been for some weeks in the printer's hands, and was, I believe, actually in type, when there appeared an eloquent leader in "The Times" on the very same theme.

No one denies that the Guards are a most magnificent body of troops, of which the country may be justly proud. The historian of the Russian account of the Battle of Inkermann, calls the Guards "gigantic," and describes them as "all picked men." This is no great exaggeration. The Guards, as compared with the Line, *are* picked men; and the standard of height is never so low by regulation in the former as in the latter. The bearskins also contribute greatly to make them appear "gigantic."

The Guards will not take every recruit, even if of the standard height. The Line admits every one who passes the doctor. The pay of the Guards is better. The non-commissioned officers selected from better privates, are, of course, better than those of the Line. Every one knows how the discipline of the Guards depends almost entirely on the non-commissioned officers. The Duke of Wellington, an aristocrat, heart and soul, fully acknowledged this fact. To it, indeed, he chiefly attributed the excellent state of those corps; though overlooking, apparently, the great advantage, in addition, of the better materials.

But the Guards are not only picked men, with superior non-commissioned officers; but they are

also very seldom exiled to colonial and never to tropical service ; to the disorganising effects of which the Line are so constantly exposed.

No wonder that, with all their advantages, the Guards are an unrivalled body of troops. It is well that it is so ; well that some English troops should enjoy the advantages possessed by continental armies, generally, of serving chiefly at home, and keeping up a most creditable appearance and efficiency ; the fame of which the battle-field serves only to augment and illustrate. It is right also, that such troops, in a monarchy, should be officered chiefly from the aristocracy. Thus far may cheerfully be conceded. But do any of the above considerations render it reasonable, politic, or just, that the promotion of the Guards should be so favoured, as to retard, and often to destroy, the legitimate prospects of the Line officers, who serve in every quarter of the globe, and whose constitutions are more or less prematurely injured by repeated service in tropical climates ?

The lieutenant-colonels of the Line who command regiments (that is, who have had the money, interest, or unusual good fortune to attain to such commands within a moderate time) have certainly received redress from the new regulations

of 1854; for now, in three years, they become full colonels: whilst captains of the Guards must be six years in that rank (as lieutenant-colonels in the army) before they can obtain their full colonelcies.

But regimental majors of the Line, who have not had the opportunity, perhaps not the money, to purchase promotion, are as badly situated as before, nay even worse. For, as the regular periodical brevets are abolished, even tardy promotion can no longer be reckoned on by the said majors. It is at all events as possible as ever, for them to vegetate in the rank of major for fifteen years or more; and during that period to see numbers of young gentlemen enter the service in the Guards, and become lieutenant-colonels in the army over the heads of men, who were majors whilst the Guardsmen lieutenant-colonels were still at school.

What wonder if zeal for the service be with most Linesmen as rare as constancy in unrequited love—greatly admired and seldom met with.*

Although the Guards only compose about one

* A man, who has vegetated for a long time, and with an aching heart, in a single subordinate rank, is in great danger of really becoming, what the system treats him as —incapable.

fifteenth of the army, I believe it will be found that they furnish more than a fourth of the employed generals; usually securing also the best berths. The other day the three commander-in-chiefships in India, were all held by Guardsmen at the same time; namely, Sir William Gomm at Calcutta, Sir George Berkeley at Madras, and Lord Frederick Fitzclarence at Bombay. All three owed their rapid promotion to having served in the Guards.

It is unnecessary to remind the reader that the three successive commanders in the late war, were all Guardsmen; namely, Lord Raglan, Sir J. Simpson, and Sir W. Codrington; a very distinguished Linesman having been passed over to promote the last named officer.

But, of course, with all these advantages, generals from the Guards have carried off the chief laurels of war? Take the commanders of armies for about the last fifty or sixty years. The Guards can boast of the Earl of Chatham at Walcheren; of General Elphinstone at Cabul; and of Raglan, Simpson, and Codrington in the Crimea: though Lord Raglan (having passed nearly all his military life on the staff) can only nominally reckon as a guardsman.

Now for the chiefs of the Line: the Duke of

Wellington, Sir John Moore, Lords Hill, Keane, Gough, Sir John Campbell and Sir Charles Napier. Any comparison between the two lists would be ridiculous. What then justifies the extra army rank of the Guards at the expense of the Line? Because the privates and non-commissioned officers are better in the Guards than in the Line, it does not follow that the officers are better in the former than in the latter. On the contrary the author sincerely believes that the very reverse is the case; and that great things might be expected from the Line, if the great majority of its officers had any fair prospect of promotion opened before them.

As it is, the Line officers generally (that is those with little or no interest or wealth) should take for their motto the old German proverb,—

“Dien’ wohl und ford’re keinen Sold,
So werden dir die Herren hold.”

which may be freely translated thus,

Serve well, and seek no recompense to earn,
Your chiefs will, then, be civil in return.

“A soldier,” said Addison, writing in Queen Anne’s time, “should be something of a courtier,” if he desire to rise in his profession. Could he return to earth in Queen Victoria’s days, Addison would find matters so little changed, in this respect,

that, in spite of the proverb, he would scarcely believe that — “Queen Anne *is* dead.”

But let us hope that, under royal auspices, a better day is dawning, not perhaps for veterans, but for the rising generation. Soon justice and foresight will become the general rule ; and England will then really have an army worthy of her civil greatness.* *Then*, at the close of some future war, we shall be justified in hoping for results more satisfactory than an unimproved victory — a surprise nearly fatal — a Quixotic charge — a town taken chiefly by our allies ; — and lastly, a fortress defended very gallantly but — unsuccessfully ; all of these followed by a peace of which (notwithstanding that it was probably the best that could be made under the circumstances) one may truly exclaim, “*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle !*”

Wars were wont to have a more triumphant issue when England was so well armed that her chiefs could exclaim, without bombast, depending on skill as well as valour,

“Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them ; nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true !”

* Lord Panmure has contributed greatly to the efficiency of the army, by concentrating the military departments under a single chief.

CHAP. XIV.

PREPARATIONS FOR LEAVING BERMUDA. — THE YOUNG MATE OF THE ROYAL NAVY. — A PREMATURE DEATH. — THE HALIFAX STEAMER. — AN OLD TIE SEVERED. — A PICTURESQUE LEAVE-TAKING. — HALIFAX. — STRIKING CONTRAST TO BERMUDA. — EXPORTS. — SHOPKEEPERS. — PRESS. — HEROES IN DANGER. — HALIFAX SCENERY. — AN ACTIVE GARRISON. — HOW SILVER IS ATTRACTED TO HALIFAX. — SAM SLICK'S BEST WORK. — STATE OF ENGLAND AT AUTHOR'S RETURN.

WHEN about to leave Bermuda for Halifax, it is usual to proceed to St. George's, there to await the return of the mail steamer from St. Thomas. The senior naval officer, at Grassy Bay, kindly lent us the Admiralty sail-boat "Pearl" to proceed to the ancient capital of the Somers' Islands. A young mate was sent with us, in charge of the boat. Our passage, the wind being dead ahead, was a long beat of three hours and a half; which gave time to ripen considerably our previous acquaintance with the mate. He was a fine manly young sailor, and appeared to be as thoroughly up to his work as if he had been bred in the merchant service. He was kind and attentive to

all on board, including the coloured nurse and the baby. He soon opened to us his heart, with the candour of his age and profession. He had hopes of his lieutenancy. He considered his captain one of the kindest and best in the service. He appeared happy and contented. To be sure, he had his grievance. On a certain occasion, he had been deprived of an opportunity of distinguishing himself, —a junior of noble family having been preferred before him.

When we arrived at St. George's, it was too late for the boat to return to the Dockyard; and the mate, therefore, passed the night in the cabin. He came, however, to see us at Mrs. Heywood's comfortable boarding house; and interested himself greatly about some little packages accidentally left behind. Poor fellow! Forty-eight hours' later the coloured nurse, with tears in her eyes, brought us word that "the kind young gentleman was drowned." He had been sent out between nine and ten P.M., in the "Kite" steamer to assist a vessel in distress; and had taken post on the paddle-box, to keep a good look out in the moonlight. He was never afterwards seen again; having, no doubt, fallen overboard. It was blowing hard and very rough at the time; and nothing

could be done, or even attempted, for him. He was only twenty years of age, and the son of a colonel in the army.

A death like this, sudden, isolated, and unexpected, occasions a far greater shock than when the battle field strikes down its victims ; for in the latter case, death comes, comparatively, as an expected visitor. The sad event threw quite a damp over our approaching departure from Bermuda.

Our time for leaving the Islands has arrived. The little Cunard steamer "Merlin" is getting up its steam in the beautiful harbour of St. George's. Good byes are over. The kind-hearted commandant has left the ship. It is raining fast ; thus adding to the gloom, which, under the most favourable circumstances, pervades the mind at parting from old friends and breaking up time-honoured associations. We are watching the barracks and encampment above us. All at once, the heights are covered with men in great coats. It is not a parade. There is not sufficient regularity in the movements for that ; and besides, the rain is pouring down. What brings them all out in spite of the weather ? We are lost in conjecture.

Captain Sampson of the "Merlin," begins to have his suspicions, which are speedily confirmed. A tie of long standing has just been severed. An old comrade, shaken in health by many a burning clime, and wearied at heart by hopeless stagnation of rank, is about to take his final departure. He is not a commander; but, if justice had prevailed, he would long since have attained to that coveted position. But it suited the convenience of a great nobleman that his hopes of promotion should be destroyed; and they were destroyed accordingly.

But to return to the Mudian hills. An old comrade is leaving. He has his faults;—who has not? But, as he is leaving for good, they are not thought of just now. On such occasions, the departing are like the dead—*Nil nisi bonum* is the established rule. We must give him a parting cheer.

Our amiable skipper—he with the gigantic name and Liliputian stature—scents the coming sport; and resolves to contribute his share. The Grecian-nosed second mate, of French Canadian extraction (the man who saved the passengers at the wreck of the "Curlew"), loads with his own hands the little three or four-pounder of the "Merlin."

We commence moving. Clash—bang—clash goes the engine. Hearing now becomes impossible; our steamer is so noisy and our friends are so far off. The band, on the heights (muffled in great coats), is playing—what? it is not so easy to make out. One of our crew (who probably can hear the grass growing) declares the tune to be "*Auld lang syne*." It is not a very rash guess, in all probability. Bang! goes the steamer's gun. If the engine would but stop for a moment, we might catch the last parting notes of that beautiful band,—might hear those parting hurrahs. No; we hope in vain for a "stop her—ease her." The inexorable clash—bang—clash will not let us hear the cheering, but we can see it plainly enough in the shaking caps and waving handkerchiefs. The gallant Grecian-nosed mate fires two more salutes,—and our martial friends gradually disappear in the distance.

And now for sea-sickness. A little screw-steamer, driving against a head-wind and heavy sea, is trying to the stoutest sailors. But when habituated, for some time, to daily sailing, one naturally feels humiliated to find oneself overcome, in any kind of craft, by the most degrading of infirmities.

We left Bermuda at four P.M. on a Monday, and anchored at Halifax at eleven A.M. the following Saturday, — a passage a little longer than the average.

Bleak, stony, and desolate, is the first aspect of the Nova Scotian shores. But what a magnificent harbour! and how strongly defended and commanded! what a range of business-like looking wharfs! what a bustling and large town,—as compared to St. George's and Hamilton!

The town, however, does not gain by propinquity. It appears, for the most part, to be built of thin deal planks, with here and there a stone house of comparatively palatial aspect, besides some really fine public buildings of the same durable materials. There is plenty of stone in Nova Scotia; the hills appear to be made of it; but wood is cheaper, and, it is said, makes warmer houses for the severe winter. A very few brick buildings are also seen in Halifax.

The lively and active population is very striking on arriving from Bermuda. It is England once more; provincial of course, but still England. Yet it is not a very valuable place. Travellers also are there very scarce. Hence the want, no doubt, of comfortable hotels. At present, board-

ing-houses are the only resources of families, entailing a public life, and many other discomforts.*

Halifax is a great place for fish, with which it supplies the West Indian Islands. Timber is the next most important of its exports. Rocks, pines, and picturesque lakes, with very little agriculture, such is the general neighbourhood. The shopkeepers sell to you when it suits them, not otherwise. The obligation appears to be with the buyer, who must be very civil to the seller, and take, as a favour, whatever he is allowed to purchase.

The press appears to be decidedly below that of Bermuda in every respect. If the military do not ask the editors to their parties, some of the fourth estate use their irresponsible power in a manner which must give more pain to the respectable members of the profession than to the intended victims of scurrility.

But the greatest danger incurred by the naval and military quartered at Halifax, is of quite another kind. In every street and lane, fearful ravages are daily made on warlike hearts; and

* Miss Lovett's, Holles Street, is the best lodging-house in Halifax.

those whom the Russian cannons spared are overthrown by the light artillery of Haligonian eyes. One hears of nothing but brides and bridegrooms in *esse* or in *posse*. The Crimean heroes, with their honours and wonderfully rapid promotion, are, of course, the especial favourites. Music, that food for love, plays twice a week in the gardens. There, you may see youthful be-medalled field-officers, commanders, and naval lieutenants, all "*peacocking*" with their "*muffins*." The former word is too expressive to require explanation. The *muffin* appears to be chiefly a Canadian term. It is applied to the fair partner of a sledge-drive; it being common, I understand, to stick to one's muffin for the season,—even though the altar should not be the final destination of the parties. I presume the word is derived from the idea of warmth and propinquity which a muffin exhibits at the breakfast table.

The independence of the young ladies in this part of the world is astounding. If the office of chaperon exists at all, it is certainly a sinecure. Yet no evil appears to arise out of this liberty,—unless the multiplicity of weddings be regarded in that light.

Thanks to the kindness of the Admiral, who lent

as his carriage, we saw something of Halifax and its neighbourhood during our short stay. But he himself was still an invalid, and anxious to be relieved of his command. He will be greatly missed throughout the extensive station; and especially at Bermuda and Halifax, where he has fixed residences.

“The Point” (near to which the garrison were encamped last summer) and the North West Arm, both near the harbour, are worth seeing. And after crossing the ferry from Halifax to Dartmouth there are very pretty drives along the endless lakes; though the poverty and barrenness of the country is also very striking, reminding one of the propriety of its appellation.

The General at Halifax does not permit the grass to grow under the feet of his garrison. During summer, he encamps the regiments exactly as if they were on active service. The soldiers bake their own bread, kill their own meat, and do everything for themselves, independently. The troops are taught also to throw up earth-works; and I saw some very respectable specimens of their labours. It will not be the fault of the general, if the officers and men do not thoroughly learn their business.

Great numbers of the garrison are at present employed in steepening the glacis of the citadel, where the 62nd are quartered, a fine regiment, very popular with the inhabitants generally.

The soldiers are extremely well paid for their labour. They moreover find that every silver sixpence paid to them is worth sevenpence half-penny in Nova Scotia. It appears that, at one time, Nova Scotia was almost entirely drained of silver. To remedy this evil, the legislature added three pence to the legal value of every shilling, and three half-pence to every sixpenny piece. And as a penny currency and a penny sterling are still exactly the same, a clear gain accrues to all persons whose wages are paid in silver by Government. But no doubt an indemnity is taken from the public at large, by a slight enhancement of the prices of goods; which, however, cannot effect the very small purchases made by soldiers. The currency is altogether a nominal affair; English and American coins being the only money in circulation, besides local and English bank-notes.

The steamers between Boston and Liverpool touch at Halifax only for an hour or two. On their way to England, they usually arrive at

Halifax at an uncertain hour between nine at night and four in the morning—a most inconvenient arrangement. For the uncertainty of the period of arrival, and the extreme brevity of the steamer's stay, compels the expectant passengers to sit up and lose their night's rest; if they do not like to incur the risk of missing the steamer, and having to wait a fortnight for another opportunity.

We had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Cunard. The former is the very obliging mail-packet agent at Halifax of the line which is named after his father. The lady, a very handsome and agreeable person, is the offspring of Sam Slick, and certainly, the most popular of all his numerous works. At four A.M., on a Friday, the "Niagara" actually arrived, after a false alarm, many hours previously, occasioned by the arrival of the "Delta," a new steamer for the Bermuda line.*

We were not off till seven A.M.; and we reached Liverpool in nine days and a half; though the "Niagara" is said to be the slowest boat on that line, and the distance from Halifax to Liverpool is 2500 miles.

* The "Delta" made her first voyage from Halifax to Bermuda in three days and a half.

The custom house gave us no trouble, as we had brought nothing from Bermuda but a small production of great value to us, but not subject to duty of a fiscal nature.

We return to find England enjoying, as well as she can, an uncertain peace — to find political parties, apparently, almost extinct, and a veteran statesman, of no party and of all parties, still at the head of a powerful ministry, and commanding the confidence of his country. And this — not by Conservative, Whig, or Radical measures, but—by inspiring a general (though somewhat vague) belief, that, combining astute moderation and indomitable firmness, he nobly personifies the English nation in the presence of a treacherous and agitated world.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A .

ON YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMICS IN BERMUDA.

DURING the epidemic of 1818-19, there were twenty-eight deaths at Ireland Island including only five soldiers. At St. George's the total deaths were 213 of all classes, viz. 43 inhabitants, 42 seamen, and 128 men, women, and children of the garrison, of which Her Majesty's 15th regiment formed the principal part.

In 1843, when the 20th regiment was in Bermuda, St. George's still furnished the largest contributions to the bills of mortality. Colonel Tulloch wrote of this epidemic—"Thus it appears that one-sixth of the troops serving at St. George's were cut off, whilst at Hamilton the loss was only one in twenty-five, and at Ireland Island one in twenty-seven of the strength."

A local Sanitary Commission assembled in 1854 to investigate and report upon the destructive fever of 1853. The evidence or opinions of nearly a hundred persons were given to, or laid before, the commissioners. Besides oral testimony, there were no less than eighty-seven signatures to written evidence, from medical men, officials, both European and native, and the vestries and corporations of the islands.

Moreover, the eighty-seven signatures represented an even greater number of opinions, as the members of boards and corporations did not all sign. For instance, the mayor of Hamilton signed for the whole corporation, as well as for himself.

That the yellow fever of 1853 was engendered, not imported, was maintained by the great majority of the medical witnesses. But it was little more than mere opinion, as the same witnesses, with a few exceptions, confessed that the disease was either infectious, or at all events communicable under certain circumstances.

The non-importation of the yellow fever in 1853 was established in the general opinion chiefly by medical men giving, in their final reports, as cases of yellow fever, deaths, which, at the time of their

occurrence, had been reported as ordinary cases of fever. Neither can one greatly admire the logic by which the commissioners themselves disposed of the fact that so many officers took the fever after visiting the Spanish war-steamer "Blasco de Garay." This vessel arrived in six days from the Havannah, on the 21st August, leaving again on the 30th. It was well known that the yellow fever had been raging in Cuba that summer. No less than seven of the officers who visited the steamer took the fever between the 4th and 21st of September, six of whom died.

These facts do not indeed prove that the officers caught the fever by going on board the steamer; but neither, on the other hand, did the commissioners disprove the supposition by their statement that "many other officers who had visited that ship did not take the fever." It has never been thought necessary, in order to establish the communicability of a disease, to prove that *every person* had taken it who had been exposed to its influence.

But whether the disease was engendered or imported,—in either case, its virulence was probably owing to the following circumstances.

The month of August has usually been the period at which the yellow fever, when it has visited Bermuda, has developed itself. In July 1853, a most unusual quantity of rain fell, as may be seen in Appendix B; and, indeed, the year in general was very wet. August was also very hot. Unusual heat and damp were of course favourable to the spread of fever, which raged from the middle of August to the beginning of December.

Not only was the heat and rain of August, 1853, above the average, but an unusual number of days of calm and very light winds during that summer contributed (as did also a prevalence of south and south-east winds) to render the season very unhealthy. As if this were not enough, the imprudent location of a convict hulk near to the shore, in the mud of St. George's harbour, together with the then very bad sanitary condition of that town, assisted in diffusing if not in originating the epidemic.

In the whole history of Bermuda, there has been no precedent for such great mortality as then occurred.

The total deaths from fever in 1853 were as follows:—

Military officers of all departments (including 4 wives)	19
Non-commissioned officers and privates of the garrison, including 29 women, 19 children, and 2 commissariat employés	345
Convicts (including 9 warders)	161
Inhabitants of Bermuda (few natives) St. George's parish, 85; Pembroke, including town of Hamilton, 27, with a few more deaths in every parish, excepting Warwick	138
Total deaths	663

Of the 294 non-commissioned officers and soldiers carried off, 120 died at St. George's; and many who died in other islands had probably been removed too late from St. George's to recover.

The troops suffered most in 1853. The 56th regiment lost altogether 222 men inclusive of women and children. The white natives suffered little — not so the resident Europeans, for the word *acclimatise* seemed to have lost its force. Long residence gave no impunity. But the coloured population suffered least of all. The few cases amongst them were very poor people, including some wretched half-starved Portuguese.

Intemperance undoubtedly aggravated the epidemic amongst the military; but it did not wholly account for its extreme virulence. The convicts suffered severely, though very much less than the

military; and the former could not indulge greatly in intemperance.

The average strength of the garrison during the epidemic, was 1230; and 295 soldiers died of the fever.

The convicts on the 1st of July, 1853, amounted to 1662. They lost 152 of their number. Allowing, therefore, a large margin for effects of drunkenness, there must yet have been some causes in common between the soldiers and the convicts, to account for the mortality in those bodies exceeding so immensely the loss even amongst the European inhabitants; for the loss amongst the civilians of both colours was only 138, out of a population of about 11,000 souls.

The causes in question were probably twofold. First, and principally, the being crowded together, with an insufficiency of pure air; and secondly, a heating diet unsuited to a temperature of 88° of Fahrenheit.

Dr. Hall of the convict establishment, a very old and experienced surgeon, asserted in his written evidence that the natives suffer less from epidemics than Europeans, because they "are acclimated, *more virtuous in their habits*, and more temperate in their mode of living." Dr. Hall no doubt was

complimenting the white natives. But as the coloured natives, who are also the most temperate, suffered least of all during the fever of 1853, the doctor's argument would prove that the descendants of Ham were the true models of virtuous habits.

If difference of diet be allowed to be generally the principal cause of the different results, the conclusions will not contradict the experience of 1853, for exemption from fever on that occasion appears to have been in proportion to abstinence, in hot weather, from a full and heating diet. For the Europeans suffered most — who live best; the white natives, many of whom live principally on fish, in summer, came next; whilst the coloured population, who scarcely ever see meat, escaped the fever almost entirely.

There can be no doubt, that plenty of pure air, a temperate diet and non-exposure to the heat of the sun or to the damps of night, are the surest means of maintaining health in all hot climates.*

The communicability of the yellow fever is still

* Josephus, speaking of his countrymen, the Essenes, informs us that “many of them live above a hundred years, by means of *the simplicity of their diet*; nay, as I think, by means of the regular course of life they observe also.”

a vexed question. It was maintained, as far at least as regards "inhalation," before the commission of 1854, by seventy-four evidences against five. The five dissenters indeed were medical men; but nearly all of them young and inexperienced assistant surgeons; whilst among the majority were fourteen medical men, most of them of great experience.

Of the eighty-seven signatures laid before the Sanitary Commission, there were —

For communicability under certain circumstances, or for						
decided infection	-	-	-	-	-	74
Against communicability	-	-	-	-	-	5
Gave no opinion on it	-	-	-	-	-	8
						87

Notwithstanding this immense preponderance,—the commissioners and the then acting Governor, evidently leaned, in their Reports, to the opinion that the disease was not communicable; but as there was no medical man on the commission, its opinion on the subject can have but little weight.

The yellow fever, after its disappearance in December, 1853, was not expected to return for many years. In less than three, however,—August, 1856, it again broke out. During the

spring and summer, several vessels from the West Indies, infected with yellow fever, were allowed to perform quarantine in the Bermudian waters, instead of being sent on to the northward—to Halifax or to Newfoundland.

There are persons in Bermuda who can prove, as they believe, that communication did take place between one of the infected vessels and the shores of Somerset. And at all events, it is, I believe, admitted that vessels from the West Indies or the Havannah have invariably preceded the outbreak of yellow fever in Bermuda. If these suspicions be well founded, the gradual lessening of the average periods of freedom from the epidemic will naturally be accounted for in the increased rapidity of communication.

So long, at all events, as a possibility of the communicability of the disease exists, it is surely very wrong to permit infected vessels to penetrate into the Great Sound, and to land at Port Island, to the north of Hamilton Harbour. For the yellow fever epidemic visitations alone prevent Bermuda from being all the year round (what it still is from December to June) one of the healthiest places in the world.

It is satisfactory to know that the visitation of

1856 has been a very mild one indeed. Only one officer of the navy, and two officers of the army, a few warders and convicts, but not a single seaman, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, have been the victims on this occasion. And one of the military officers was unfortunately guilty of such imprudence in remaining for hours in his wet clothes, that he might, under such circumstances, have been equally carried off had no epidemic prevailed at the time.

The statistics of the epidemic of 1856 will not be accurately known for some time. It is believed, however, that the mortality has not, on this occasion, exceeded eight per cent. of the fever cases; nor will the latter be found to have greatly exceeded 1000 in all.

Not a single case occurred on board H.M.S. "Nile," with its 900 souls, at Grassy Bay. Captain Mundy's prudent measures no doubt contributed to this happy result. But the dimensions and ventilation of large vessels are better suited than smaller craft for hot climates.

If any general rule can be established by past fevers in Bermuda, it may be said that fevers in unusually hot weather must affect the Europeans, and in unusually cool weather, the natives. But,

indeed, the fever of 1856 is the only recorded case of a bad epidemic in a cool summer ; and the only one also in which, whilst the natives have suffered greatly, the Europeans have comparatively escaped unscathed.

APPENDIX B.

Annual fall of rain at Her Majesty's Naval Yard at Bermuda, from 1852 to 1856.

Year.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	October.	Nov.	Dec.	Total for Year.
	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.
1852	7.23	3.31	3.92	3.62	3.17	4.01	2.67	7.00	5.27	4.26	2.40	2.98	49.84
1853	3.95	2.61	5.30	5.48	2.80	1.11	6.98	3.51	6.38	6.69	11.63	11.34	67.78
1854	5.69	4.55	1.73	4.60	1.38	5.10	2.19	1.24	2.94	11.20	4.20	2.27	47.09
1855	5.50	9.94	3.14	2.90	7.53	0.63	0.78	3.34	2.34	8.28	2.83	2.89	50.10
1856	2.70	5.18	5.40	3.15	6.59	2.61	2.16	3.75	5.85	4.27	1.61		

A statistical comparison of the three years 1838, 1844, 1855 in a few of the most important particulars.

	1838.	1844.	1855.
	—	—	—
Imports	£ s. d. 124,834 0 2	£ s. d. 137,849 18 7	£ s. d. 162,556 4 8
Exports	19,941 3 11	22,653 4 11	41,420 0 9
Shipping Inwards	Vessels. Tons. Men. 125 13,194 885	Vessels. Tons. Men. 183 24,177 1,319	Vessels. Tons. Men. 192 31,856 1,913
Shipping Outwards	134 13,399 883	180 23,290 1,254	186 30,232 1,877
Vessels registered in Bermuda	Vessels. Tons. Men. 18 580 (not entered.)	Vessels. Tons. Men. 9 128 (not entered.)	Vessels. Tons. Men. 51 4,067 305
Built in Bermuda	8	5	(not known.)
Local Revenue	£ s. d. 11,697 17 3	£ s. d. 11,904 4 10	£ s. d. 11,692 17 3
Local Government Expense paid by Home Government	4,049 13 4	4,559 13 4	Did not obtain the figures for this line, but the total about,
Total Revenue	£15,747 10 7	£16,463 18 2	£16,000

APPENDIX D.

A LIST OF ACTS

Passed by the Legislature of Bermuda during the Session which commenced on the 22nd day of May, 1855, and ended on the 30th day of October following, viz: —

No.

1. An Act for raising a Revenue for the support of the Government of these Her Majesty's Islands, and to appropriate certain sums to the discharge of the Expenses of Government, as therein expressed.
2. An Act to continue the Act intituled "An Act to amend the Law of Evidence," and for the further improvement of the law on that subject.
3. An Act to continue the Act to prevent the improper introduction of Spirituous and Fermented Liquors into Boaz Island and Watford Island.
4. An Act to continue the Temporary Acts for regulating the Public Ferry.

No.

5. An Act to continue and amend the Act “to repeal the Act to prevent Parish Charges by poor Persons, removing from one tribe to another, and to make other enactments instead thereof.”
6. An Act providing a stipend in aid of the support of the Minister of the Presbyterian Church in these Islands.
7. An Act in further amendment of the “Act to establish certain Regulations for the performance of Quarantine.”
8. An Act to amend the Act for encouraging a General Vaccination of the inhabitants of these Islands.
9. An Act to continue the Act intituled “An Act to Confirm a Certain Ordinance of the Mayor, Alderman, and Common Council of the Town of Hamilton, relating to Vessels and Wharfs at the Port of Hamilton.”
10. An Act to continue the Act intituled “An Act to confirm a certain Ordinance of the Mayor, Alderman, and Common Council of the town of Hamilton, concerning Streets in the Town of Hamilton.”
11. An Act to facilitate the partition of undivided Real Estate.

No.

12. An Act to provide a Lockup on Somerset Island for the temporary confinement of Persons charged with Offences.
 13. An Act to enlarge the Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery of these Islands to a certain extent.
 14. An Act to provide for a limited period Salaries for the Officers of the Public Revenue.
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APPENDIX E.

Extracts from the Census of 1851 compared with that of 1843.

TRADE OR OCCUPATION.		STOCK.			PRODUCE.		
	1843.	1851.		1843.	1851.	In bushels.	
Seamen at sea	243	133	Horses -	-	259	Sweet Potatoes Irish Potatoes Carrots Turnips Indian Corn Barley	1843.
" at home	183	221	Mules -	-	12		1851.
Carpenters	224	262	Asses -	-	22		11,264½
Masons	110	196	Cattle -	-	2,101		13,435
Smiths	16	24	Sheep -	-	195		590½
Cabinet makers	22	32	Carts -	-	137		656
Tailors	29	39	Ploughs	-	54		924
Shoemakers	22	24	Rowing boats	-	363		92½
Wheelwrights	2	6	Sailing boats -	-	119		269½
Domestic servants	891	943					
Fishermen	123	126				In lbs.	
Pilots	22	30				Arrowroot, rough state - Onions - Garden Vegetables Tomatoes	1,110,502
Labourers	926	805					854,329
							333,035
							171,617
							256,136
							19,120

APPENDIX F.

It is not pretended that Marvel was ever in Bermuda, yet his verses might quite as easily pass for a proof of his having been there as those of Waller for the latter's supposed visit. Both writers exaggerate about equally. Marvel, alluding to Providence, says:—

“ He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storm and prelate's rage.
He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels everything.
And sends *the fowls* to us in care,
On daily visits through the air.”

This, in islands where birds of all sorts are great rarities.

Then again:—

“ With cedars chosen from his hand,
From *Lebanon* he stores the land ;
And makes the hollow seas that roar,
Proclaim the *ambergrease* on shore.”

The cedars of Bermuda, are very unlike those of Lebanon; and the notion of ambergris, in very

great quantities, was a report of the first travellers never confirmed by experience.

It appears that the marvellous accounts of John May and his successors had made the Bermudas, as a subject of poetry, quite the fashion in England, without, however, inducing any one to visit them for pleasure or curiosity.

APPENDIX G.

Dr. Johnson, in his "Lives of the Poets," speaking of Waller, says:—"From the verses written at Penshurst, it has been collected that he diverted his disappointment by a voyage; and his biographers, from his poem on the whales, think it not improbable that he visited the Bermudas; but it seems much more likely that he should amuse himself with forming an imaginary scene, than that so important an incident as a visit to America should have been left floating in conjectural probability."

It was not necessary, however, that Waller's ideas of Bermuda should be wholly *imaginary*, as he had Captain John Smith's graphic history of the young colony, for the foundation of his poem. The poem itself is a sufficient proof that Waller never did visit the Islands, though it has been the sole basis of the unfounded report.

Waller commences thus:—

"Bermuda walled with rocks who does not know?"

Now Waller was a London man of fashion, who wrote for people of fashion; and since no one pretends that people of fashion generally visited Bermuda in the reign either of Cromwell or Charles the Second, it is evident the words "who does not know?" do not allude to ocular experience. He meant, therefore, that the Bermudas were known (as Australia is now) to all well educated persons, by written accounts of them. Again, if he had himself visited the Islands, he would at once have drawn some distinction between his own actual experience and the general knowledge of the public. But Waller never, in the whole poem, uses one word that can fairly be taken as an intimation that he had seen the Islands.

Like Marvel, Waller tells us: -

Many a pound,
On the rich shore of *ambergris* is found."

Waller was born in 1605, and died in 1687.

It appears that *ambergris* had ceased to be an article of export from Bermuda (if, indeed, much of it ever was exported) before Waller could possibly have visited the Islands, as may be seen in Johnson's account of that poet.

Both Marvel and Waller seemed to think that Bermuda enjoys a perpetual spring. However,

Moore has also sanctioned this idea in the couplet,

“ May spring to eternity hallow the shade,
Where Ariel has warbled, and Waller has stray’d.”

Moore certainly was in Bermuda, but only during *one spring*; so that, of course, he never experienced the great heat of summer nor the coldness of a part of the winter.

Waller again sings:—

“ Oh ! how I long my careless limbs to lay,
Under the plaintain shade, and all the day,
With amorous airs my fancy entertain,” &c.

Here there is a desire to see a new country of great reputed beauty; but not a word of past recollections, not an allusion to any actual experience of the joys longed for.

Then again:—

“ I’ll make the listening savages grow tame.”

The Red Indians of America were the *savages* of Waller’s day; but there were none of that race in Bermuda, and even the first negro slaves ever in Bermuda arrived only as early as 1632.

Then the account of the whales in “a lake” near the parish of “Warwick” in the Great Sound,

is a purely imaginary trait of the poet's own invention,—quite absurd in a geographical point of view.

In short, neither the imaginary ring, nor the imaginative poem, at all establish Waller's visit; and we may safely abide by the opinion of Dr. Johnson, which, if the latter had himself seen the spot in question, would assuredly have been far more decided and unqualified.

Moore's lines on Bermuda, are true and simple compared with the verse of Marvel and Waller, or with the prose of Bishop Berkeley; because Moore was the only one of these writers who described what he had really seen and felt. Take this sample.

“ But bless the little fairy isle !
How sweetly after all our ills,
We saw the sunny morning smile,
Serenely o'er its fragrant hills ;
And felt the pure delicious flow
Of airs, that round this Eden blow,
Freshly as even the gales that come,
O'er our own healthy hills at home.

“ Could you but see the scenery fair,
That now beneath my window lies,
You'd think that Nature lavished there
Her purest waves, her softest skies,
To make a heaven for love to sigh in,
For bards to live, and saints to die in.

Close to my wooded bank below,
In glassy calm the waters sleep,
And to the sunbeam proudly show
The coral rocks they love to steep.
The fainting breeze of morning fails,
The drowsy boat moves slowly past,
And I can almost touch its sails,
As loose they flap around the mast.
The noontide sun in splendour pours
That lights up all these leafy shores ;
While his own heav'n, its clouds and beams,
So pictured in the waters lie,
That each small bark in passing, seems
To float along a burning sky."

APPENDIX Z.

I had hoped, ere finishing, to have been able to state the decision of the Home Government on the dispute between the Governor and the House of Assembly. But it appears that the knotty question is still held in the tenacious hand of the British Crown lawyers, who in many months have come to no decision.

THE END.

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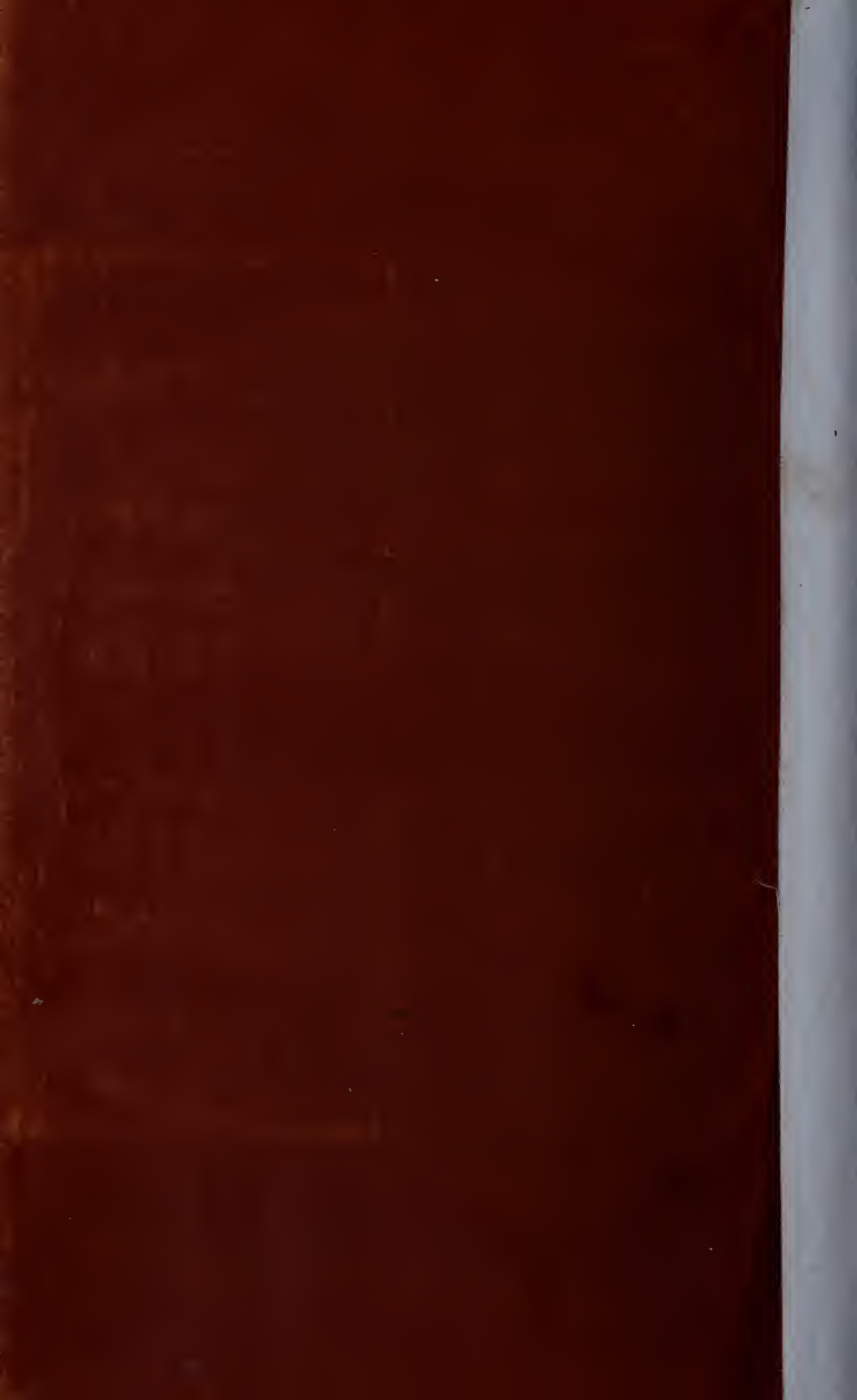
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